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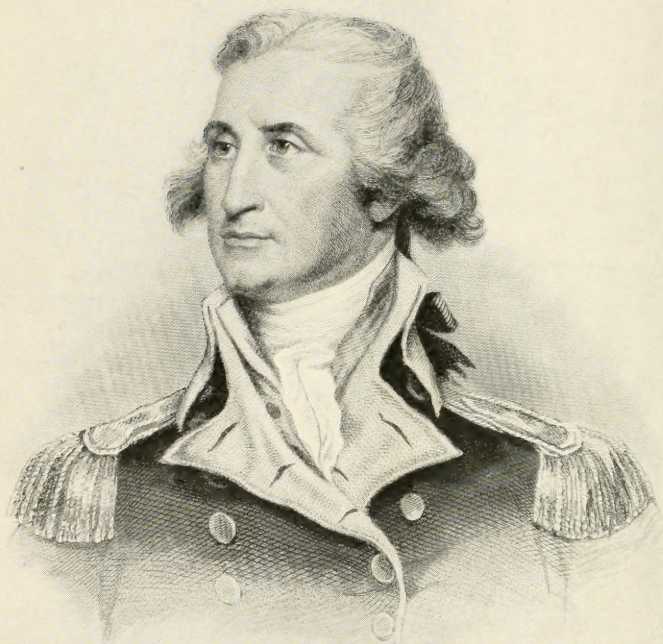


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O'BRIEN

**A HIDDEN PHASE OF
AMERICAN HISTORY**



G. Washington

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

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A HIDDEN PHASE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Ireland's Part in America's Struggle for Liberty

BY

MICHAEL J. O'BRIEN

HISTORIOGRAPHER, AMERICAN IRISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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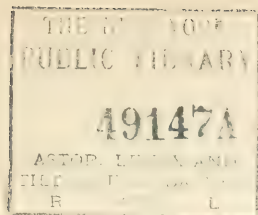
"There is America, which at this day serves for little more than to amuse you with stories of savage men and uncouth manners, yet shall, before you taste of death, show itself equal to the whole of that commerce which now attracts the envy of the world."

—EDMUND BURKE, *Speech on Conciliation of America*, II, 115.



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TO
THOMAS ADDIS EMMET, M.D., LL.D., K.ST.G.
IRISH SCHOLAR AND AMERICAN PATRIOT
THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED BY
THE AUTHOR

INTRODUCTION

IT has fallen to the lot of the author of this research into the quality and volume of Irish participation in the struggle for American Independence to accomplish more at a stroke than all who have preceded him. Mr. O'Brien has indeed vindicated his title as Historiographer of the American Irish Historical Society in putting forth a work so clear, so luminous, so convincing that it may be said to be the last word on the subject, save as he himself may choose to add to it.

In boldly traversing the statements of such American historians as George Bancroft and Henry Cabot Lodge, he has in all cases quoted their own words on the related points, and proceeded therefrom to the utter demolition of their premises and conclusions with a crushing weight of evidence, marshalled with care, argued with acumen, and presented in admirable order. These statements derogatory to the part played by the Irish race in Ireland and America during the War of the Revolution, although frequently challenged, have long stood without conclusive answer. Mr. O'Brien has found the answer absolute. In this matter rhetoric has been set against rhetoric times out of mind. For the first time, an indisputable array of cogent facts, stated without flourish, points to inevitable conclusions fatal to the misstatements of the historians named. This might be glory enough for the author, but he does not halt there.

The real value of the triumph lies in the constructive and demonstrative nature of the work. Valuable as it might be in its phase of convicting certain widely accepted writers of misinformation, unfairness, injustice, or prejudice, as the case may be, its importance inheres in establishing certain standards of fact concerning the part played by the Irish in the ranks of the Continental army which must stand for all time. Intensive research may add corroboration to Mr. O'Brien's averments; the Irish race may rest assured that nothing discoverable will shake his conclusions. The reason for this sweeping substantiation of our Historiographer's argument resides in the method with which he has wrought. It is simplicity itself, but it involves such close, persistent, patient, indefatigable examination and study of the records that the conclusions reached are patent. I may say he establishes unequivocally that thirty-eight per cent. of the Revolutionary army that won American independence was Irish! And it is a fascinating story. His massing of fact upon fact, and record upon record, is as surprising as it is masterly. Anyone, of whatever race, who loves a brilliant argument deftly driven home will rejoice in the reading of it.

The work divides itself easily into three parts—one devoted to laying bare the heart of the Irish race in Ireland during the War for Independence as beating in sympathy with the revolted Colonies in America, and therein refuting the statements of Bancroft founded upon one-sided quotation and misread information, and involving suppression of important historical facts. In its way it is as conclusive as the other parts of the work,

and will be read by the Irish-born and Irish-descended with real gusto. The second part of the work is devoted to the Irish in the Revolutionary army, to whom I have already referred.

The third part deals most importantly with the early Irish immigration into the American Colonies, evolving remarkable conclusions based on attainable facts. While these facts are spread out to the confusion of ignorant or prejudiced historians, they mightily contribute to the self-respect and add to the knowledge of the American Irish. We are no new-comers in these United States, as is well proven in this book. Not the least engaging portion of this section of the book is the author's caustic treatment of the use of the absurd term "Scotch-Irish." So often applied by callow ethnologists, the lamentable fact is that it has constituted the last resort of snobbery, an apology by a snob for what indicated his real claim to consideration—his Irish blood. Of great cogency and sharp interest also is Chapter XXIII, in its remorseless exposure of the erroneous figures relating to the Irish in America in 1790, as set forth in a certain United States Government publication. Homer nodded badly that time, and Mr. O'Brien prods him with the point of Achilles' sword—more, however, in sorrow than in anger, and without a trace of the mode of Thersites.

Here, then, are the credentials of the Irish for a high place in the American Pantheon, for a continuing station of prominence among the stalwart builders of the Republic, those intrepid men who cemented the foundations

of its structure with their blood and laid its stones with their brain and brawn.

To Michael Joseph O'Brien, the Irish race in America will forever be a debtor. It is not in the curriculum of his school of effort to consider for a moment the personal equation. Without other thought, he has worked in sincerity for the good name of his race on the American continent. The publication of this, his latest complete effort, is his great compensation. It is the apex of much work on similar lines which has brought him high consideration among historical writers and his countrymen, and it is something more than usual, too, from the fact that all this and other historical research has been carried on in the time that means leisure to others circumstanced like himself.

What can and should be done concerning this by his compatriots is a question well worth consideration, but one thing should be done eagerly and at once, and that is to see to the circulation in large successive editions of this book. There are at least five thousand libraries in the United States in which it should be placed for continued reference by students, and there are many thousands of Irish homes in which it should be a treasured possession. Those fortunate enough to get it in their hands should promote its circulation by all means in their power; for, besides being an historical work of capital importance, based upon data gathered with prodigious labor from unimpeachable sources, it is such an inspiring record of heroic deeds and sacrifices by the high-souled men of an earlier day, gloriously crowned by the establishment of free government upon this continent, that

it will fill with a just pride the heart of every true American and of every Irishman in the liberty-loving little nation beyond the sea.

JOSEPH I. C. CLARKE,

President-General,

American Irish Historical Society.

December, 1918.

CHAPTER I

ATTITUDE OF THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND TOWARD THE AMERICAN COLONISTS

How Bancroft misstated the facts. The "Address to the King" forced through Parliament at the command of the Lord Lieutenant. Resultant anger of the people. How the Irish patriot leaders opposed the address. Burke, Barré, and Conolly among the staunchest friends of America in the English Parliament. Lord Chatham declared that "the whole Irish nation favour the Americans." Barré's famous speech characterizing the revolting Colonists as "Sons of Liberty." The Stamp Act. Rejoicings in Ireland over its repeal.

HISTORY is the high court of humanity," wrote Bancroft, "where truth must be heard and justice must be pronounced." But, in so far as the history of the War of the Revolution is concerned, much of it has been written by one-sided practitioners in that "court"; the testimony which they offered has not been analyzed by the jury, nor adjudicated upon by impartial judges; so that an unbiased verdict has never been rendered, the result being that much ignorance prevails as to certain details of the history of that eventful period.

It cannot be said that even Bancroft himself, in all cases, observed the strictest nicety in adhering to the spirit of his own aphorism, for there are many statements in his work which, when compared with the authentic records, are irreconcilably at variance therewith, and for these inaccuracies he has been criticized severely by other

historians. Of course, no man is infallible, nor are historians exempt from the possibility of error; and while George Bancroft proved no exception to that rule, he has also been charged with "suppression of facts," "misrepresentation," and the creation of "false impressions." And there is one feature of his work wherein, either by withholding from his readers a full narration of the facts, or through his lack of knowledge of the facts, he has not afforded them the means of testing the accuracy of his assertions or the justice of his judgments. By this I mean his animadversions upon the attitude of the people of Ireland toward the American Colonists during the War of the Revolution.

In Bancroft's *History of the United States*, the author says: "When the news from Lexington and Bunker Hill arrived, the Irish Parliament voted that it heard of the rebellion with abhorrence and was ready to show to the world its attachment to the sacred person of the King." And further, "the people [of Ireland] sent against them [the Americans] some of their best troops and their ablest men."¹

These statements do not enhance the reputation for impartiality which Bancroft has enjoyed. In fact, there are three distinct reasons for saying that they are misstatements of fact, because (1) the Irish Parliament did *not* vote as Bancroft said; (2) it took no action whatever on American affairs until November, 1775, which was several months after "the news from Lexington and Bunker Hill" was known in Ireland; and (3) not only did "the people of Ireland" not send troops against

¹ *History of the United States*, Vol. V, pp. 474, 504.

the Americans, but throughout the war they remained the steadfast friends of the American cause. The precise facts, as furnished by the records of the time, are as follows:

The inspiring news from Lexington had reached Ireland as early as the last week of May, 1775, and not only was the fact also known in that country that America had struck a blow for freedom six months before the battle of Lexington, when Sullivan and his fellow patriots seized the guns and ammunition at Fort William and Mary,² but the press of Dublin in the summer of 1775 rang with the praises of the valiant sons of Morris O'Brien³ for winning "the Lexington of the Seas."⁴ On the 11th of October, 1775, a proposed "Address to the King" by the Irish Parliament stated they had "heard with abhorrence and feel with indignation of the Rebellion existing in a part of your American Dominions"; but, corrupt and slavish though that Parliament was, this language was found to be objectionable and, after debate, it was stricken from the Address before the question was put to a final vote. In the seventeenth volume of the *Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland*, published at Dublin in 1776,

² In September, 1774.

³ Morris O'Brien was a native of Dublin.

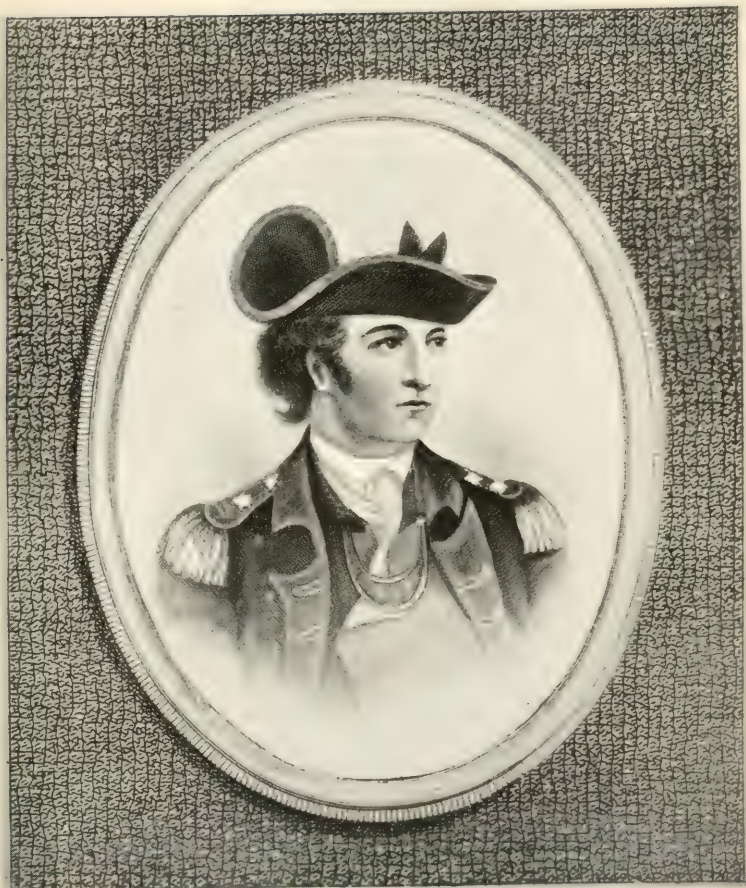
⁴ The first naval battle of the American Revolution, fought off Machias, Maine, on June 12, 1775. Cooper, in his *History of the United States Navy*, calls it "the Lexington of the Seas." For a full account of the remarkable exploit of the O'Briens, see *Life of Captain Jeremiah O'Brien, Commander of the First Flying Squadron of the American Revolution*, by Dr. Andrew M. Sherman, Morristown, New Jersey, 1902.

it is shown that the "Address to the King," as originally framed, was rejected by ninety-two "noes" to fifty-two "ayes." The language quoted was used in the third paragraph of the Address, but an amendment was proposed "to read the third paragraph a second time," and, on the vote on "the question," the record shows "the House divided" and the amendment was passed in the following month by a vote of ninety to fifty-four.⁵ The words "we hear with abhorrence and feel with indignation of the Rebellion existing in a part of your American Dominions" were changed by the amendment to read:

"It is with the deepest Concern, that we hear of the Dissensions that have unfortunately arisen between Great Britain and her Colonies, and we beg Leave to assure your Majesty that we shall at all times be ready to manifest our Zeal and attachment to your Majesty's Person and Government, relying upon the Wisdom, Justice and Mercy of your Majesty's Councils for terminating those Dissensions in the Manner most advantageous for every part of the British Empire."

So, after all, the Irish Parliament did not vote as Bancroft said; they did not view the rebellion "with abhorrence," and I leave it to the judgment of impartial readers to say whether Bancroft had some ulterior motive in omitting all reference to the amendment, or

⁵ As a matter of fact, the opposition to the "Address to the King" was greater than the vote indicates. Lecky remarks upon "the abstention of more than one-half the members of the House of Commons on a question so vitally important," and states that "it was probably in some degree due to the American sympathies of many members who owed their seats to great borough-owners now in alliance with the government, and who were, therefore, according to the received code of parliamentary honour, precluded from voting against the Ministers." (*History of Ireland during the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. II, London, 1892.)



REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN
OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY, SON OF JOHN SULLIVAN
OF LIMERICK AND MARJERY SULLIVAN OF CORK, IRELAND.

whether it was simply because this part of the record escaped his notice. Standing alone and without qualification, the language used by Bancroft in describing the action of the Irish Parliament was utterly unworthy of a great historian, for if he had only explained the status of the Irish Parliament as a legislative body, or its relationship to the people of Ireland, the "sting" might have been removed. His chapter on the Penal Laws, and their resultant misery and injustice to the Irish people, clearly indicates that he was thoroughly conversant with the situation in Ireland, and by no stretch of the imagination can we suppose that when examining the proceedings of the House of Commons, he failed to notice the record of the above quoted amendment to the Address to the King, which made a very material change in its original language.

As Lecky says, "Usually, such addresses passed unopposed, but on this occasion a most earnest and persistent opposition was made," and Earl Harcourt, who "had no illusions about the strength of American feeling in Ireland," wrote that "the debate was conducted with great violence on the part of the Opposition." "It was in this manner," declares Lecky, "and to the bitter indignation of the small group of independent members, that Ireland was committed to the American struggle." ⁶

But Bancroft committed an even more serious error, or, rather, it might be said he brought a more serious charge against the Irish people, in his statement relative to the troops sent from Ireland to fight the Ameri-

⁶ W. E. H. Lecky, *History of Ireland during the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. II, p. 160.

cans, and this portion of his history may, in truth, be described as "the writing of history by suppression."

On November 23, 1775, as stated in the *Journals of the House of Commons*, Earl Harcourt, "Lord-Lieutenant-General and Governor-General of Ireland," appeared before the Irish Parliament at the express command of the King and said:

"I have His Majesty's Commands to acquaint you that the Situation of Affairs in Part of His American Dominions is such as makes it necessary for the Honour and Safety of the British Empire, and for the support of His Majesty's Just Rights, to desire the Concurrence of His Faithful Parliament of Ireland in sending out of this Kingdom a Force not exceeding Four Thousand Men, Part of the Number of Troops upon this establishment, appointed to remain in this Kingdom, for its Defence, and to declare to you His Majesty's Most Gracious Intention, that such Part of his Army as shall be spared out of this Kingdom, to Answer the present Exigency of Affairs, is not to be continued a Charge upon this Establishment, so long as they shall remain out of the Kingdom. I am further commanded to inform you, that as His Majesty hath nothing more at Heart, than the Security and Protection of His People of Ireland, it is His Intention, if it shall be the desire of Parliament, to replace such Forces as may be sent out of this Kingdom, by an equal Number of Foreign Protestant Troops, as soon as His Majesty shall be enabled so to do, the Charge for such Troops to be defrayed without any Expense to this Kingdom."

Unthinking persons, or those unacquainted with the true status of the Irish Parliament as then constituted, would naturally conclude, on reading Bancroft, that the Irish people willingly sent troops to fight against American liberty. In fact, Bancroft leaves no room for doubt on that score when he says: "The cause of the United States was the cause of Ireland. Among the fruits of

their battles was the recovery for the Irish of her equal rights in trade and legislation. Yet such is the complication in human affairs, that the people who of all others should have been found taking part with America sent against them some of their best troops and their ablest men." That statement is not only misleading, but the facts on record show it to be utterly false, for the people of Ireland had neither hand, act nor part in sending troops out of Ireland. The despatches published in the newspapers of the time and the proceedings of the English Parliament clearly indicate that all official orders relating to the troops in Ireland destined for America, even such relatively unimportant orders as those concerning the transfer of troops from one military station to another within the British Isles, emanated from London, and that no orders concerning movements of troops originated with the Irish Parliament or with the military authorities in Ireland.

From the official reports of the incident the inference is plain that the British government, before the appearance in Parliament of the King's emissary, had already determined to send troops from Ireland to America, and although they asked for the formal "concurrence" of the Irish Parliament, it is perfectly obvious, in case that concurrence was not forthcoming, they would have carried out their intention in any event. In a speech in the English Parliament on February 15, 1776, the Secretary of War, Lord George Germain, stated that the request to the Irish Parliament was merely "a formality," saying: "His Majesty might have ordered the whole or any part of the troops in Ireland

to any part of the British Dominions he pleased without applying to the Parliament of either Kingdom.”⁷ For under the operation of “Poynings’ Law” the British crown and Parliament had absolute control over the Irish Parliament in all matters affecting “the Empire.” As a matter of fact, the Irish Parliament, constituted as it was, could not be expected to vote otherwise than as the King commanded; but notwithstanding this, we find that on many occasions some of its intrepid spirits manifested a sturdy independence, and on the question of sending troops to America they registered their solemn “no”; for of the one hundred and sixty-one members who voted on the proposition, no less than fifty-eight “noes” were recorded against it.⁸

As soon as the people of Dublin began to realize what the action of Parliament meant, a deep sense of ignominy took possession of them; an angry mob stormed the House, and the residence of the Lord Lieutenant was attacked and was saved only by the timely interference of the soldiers. The city was stirred to its depths, and we read in the despatches how “the coffee houses of Dublin abound with the most violent abuse against the Ministerial favourites”; and after some representative citizens had signed a call for a public meeting of protest, a multitude of people met in Phoenix Park and expressed themselves in no uncertain tones as to how they felt toward the American revolt. A concrete instance of the manifestation of this feeling is re-

⁷ *Parliamentary Register*, Vol. III, p. 323.

⁸ *Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland*, Vol. XVII, p. 208; Dublin, 1776.

ported in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of June 5, 1776, in a despatch from London dated March 14th, reading: "Advices from Dublin say this capital will soon be too hot for the Viceroy to remain much longer, so that another must speedily be appointed in his room."

"There were great numbers of people in Ireland," says Lecky, "who regarded the American cause as their own. Already the many disastrous circumstances of Irish history had driven great bodies of Irishmen to seek a home in the more distant dominions of the Crown, and few classes were so largely represented in the American army as Irish emigrants."⁹ It is not surprising, then, to learn that when the news of the action of Parliament reached the country, the indignation of the populace could not be restrained; riots broke out all over Ireland, attacks were made on many of the members on their return home, and in the *Journals of the House of Commons*, under date of April 4, 1776, may be read references by the Lord Lieutenant to "those atrocious offenders who have committed such barbarous outrages in some of the Counties" and who had been "effectually intimidated and restrained." In fact, these riots developed into serious proportions, and in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of November 15, 1775, I find among the news from London an item reading: "Insurrections of a very alarming and dangerous nature are dreaded in Ireland in the course of the ensuing spring, if troops be not sent over from this country to replace the Irish regiments serving in America." And in the same paper

⁹ W. E. H. Lecky, *History of Ireland during the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. II, p. 160.

of November 27, 1775, in the news from London under date of August 15th, we read how "Orders have been despatched to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland and to the Commander-in-Chief there to put that Kingdom in the best posture of defence without delay and to execute the Laws for disarming the Roman Catholics with great strictness." It made not the slightest difference, therefore, how the Irish Parliament voted on this question, for it is the will of the Irish people that should be considered, not that of a corrupt and venal Parliament, the same which, twenty years later, bartered away for a price the last shred of Irish liberty.

The racial composition of the Irish Parliament, at that time, in itself shows that it was in no way representative of the Irish people. On the roster of its three hundred and seven members in the year 1775 only forty-four Irish names appear, the remainder being English "nobles," place-hunters, and other descendants of the Cromwellian soldiers and adventurers who had planted themselves in Ireland only a century before, and they were as alien to the native Irish as were their hated ancestors. Only seventy-two of the three hundred and seven members were elected by the people, the others being appointed by the English Lord Lieutenant. More than three of the four millions constituting the population of the island were Roman Catholics, and, as such, had no more voice in elections or appointments than had the natives of the Fiji Islands; and of the remaining twenty-five per cent. of the people, not less than one-half, under the operation of the "Test Act," were also excluded from the privilege of the franchise. So that

the Irish people were in no way represented, and were not responsible for any act of the so-called "Irish" Parliament, for the ruling powers in that body stood in the same relationship to the people of Ireland that the historically clownish triumvirate known as "the Three Tailors of Tooley Street" bore to "the People of England."

But that the little handful of Irishmen in that Parliament stood by their own people and on many occasions expressed their unalterable sympathy with the American Colonists, abundant testimony is afforded by the records, some of which has been furnished by no less an authority than Benjamin Franklin. The leaders of the patriot party are all on record in strong speeches opposed to the British government sending troops out of Ireland "to suppress the cause of American independence." "In the Irish Parliament," says John Mitchel, "most of the leading men of the Opposition opposed the war upon principle; they inveighed against the unconstitutional exactions of the Ministry, and in their debates went very little short of formally justifying the American Rebellion. The analogy between America and Ireland was too close to pass unnoticed, and the defection of the American Colonies produced a strong effect upon Ireland."¹⁰ Especially did "the incorruptible Grattan," after his entry into Parliament in the winter of 1775, denounce the proposition in one of his

¹⁰ *History of Ireland*, by John Mitchel, p. 114; Glasgow, 1866. In his *Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*, Sir Jonah Barrington, who lived in Ireland during the American Revolution, also testifies to the natural sympathies of the Irish toward the struggling Colonists.

most impassioned speeches, and his terrible arraignment of Flood for his craven conduct on that occasion was one of the most brilliant and fiery addresses ever delivered by the great orator. America he described as "the only hope of Ireland and the only refuge of the liberties of mankind."

The *Journals of the House of Commons* show that the sessions of the Irish Parliament in the spring and autumn of 1775 were wholly spent in a vigorous struggle between a minority, supported by the almost unanimous voice of the Irish nation, and a corrupt majority which held itself in readiness to carry out every whim and mandate of the English ministry, in reckless disregard of national feeling in Ireland. Among the leading spirits of the small but active body of Irish patriots who voiced the true sentiments of the people on the subject of "the American war," were such men as Yelverton, Bushe, Hussey Burgh, Ponsonby, Ogle, Conolly, and Daly, historic figures who are mentioned in Irish annals of the period with the same reverence as Grattan and Charlemont.

Dr. MacNevin, himself a witness to the events of the time, in his history of the Irish Volunteers, speaks authoritatively of "the analogies which existed between the case of America and Ireland," and in referring to the formative period of Irish public opinion which resulted in the organization of the famous Irish military body, he says: "We have now arrived at the period of the American Revolution, the giant-birth of a new world of liberty. The great questions involved in the dispute between England and her colonies were also the subject

of discussion between England and Ireland. It is not, therefore, at all surprising that the development and progress of the Revolution were watched with great anxiety by the Irish people, and that they desired to view the triumph of their own principles in the success of the American arms, and to read the final issue of their own efforts in the establishment of a free government on the other side of the Atlantic. The example of America was contagious, and Ireland was not long without showing some of the symptoms of the Revolution.”¹¹

When the question of raising troops in Ireland for the American service was first broached in Parliament, the proposition was met with vehement resistance. Under the head of “Parliamentary Intelligence” in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of January 17, 1776, there is a despatch dated “Dublin, October 14th,” paraphrasing the debate in the Irish Parliament, during which one of the members repeated a statement of Lord Chatham in the British Parliament that “Ireland to a man is in favour of the Americans.” He said it was “the general sense of the Irish Nation, expressed by their representatives, that the present dispute is not between Ireland and the Colonies, with whom she hath no connection, but between Great Britain and her Colonies, and it would be as absurd to take part as it would be if they were told a rebellion was broke out in the East Indies. It was indeed an important subject, as great as came before any Senate, and it would be highly imprudent to interfere. It was not the business of this House to decide that the Americans

¹¹ *History of the Volunteers of 1782*, by Thomas MacNevin; Dublin, 1853.

are rebels, without any means of judging that they are so, that they had a perfect right to resist an unjust tax." Barry Yelverton, one of the most powerful speakers in the House, delivered a bold and eloquent speech against sending troops out of Ireland. He justified fully the revolt of the Colonists, declaring "no slavery could be more perfect than where men were taxed without being represented," that "the Ministry had cut off the rights of Thirteen Colonies at once, that Ireland would be next, and then, when Liberty had but one neck, that too would be lopped off at one stroke."

In a fiercely conducted debate, Irish Commons asserted that "Ireland had neither dispute with nor grievance against the Americans," that "the question was solely between Britain and her Colonies, and that Ireland should not interfere." The speech of John Fitzgibbon is thus summarized in Force's *American Archives*: "Before we took any part in the war we should examine whether it was just. He then entered into a recapitulation of all that had passed between Great Britain and her Colonies from the last war to the present time, and concluded that the war was unjust and that Ireland had no reason to be a party therein." He was followed by Newenham, who declared that "he could not agree to send troops to butcher men who were fighting for their liberty," that "though America might be conquered, the spirit of Liberty there could never be subdued." Hussey Burgh said that "if America were brought to her knees Ireland too would be enslaved," and he declared himself "wholly opposed to taxing the Americans without their consent." He condemned all aggression

against the Americans as "a violation of the law of nations, the law of the land, the law of humanity, the law of nature; and he would not vote a single sword against them." Ponsonby said "if troops are sent abroad without our consent we should not be made parties to the quarrel," and he warned his colleagues that "if we give our consent, we take part against the Americans, but to do this would be unjust." George Ogle, a staunch patriot, in the course of a fiery speech shouted: "We shall not be intimidated by threats, we shall not send men to cut the throats of the Americans. . . . If men must be sent to America, let them send their foreign mercenaries, not the brave sons of Ireland."¹²

Bushe, Daly, and Conolly argued, on the ground of Ireland's own interests, that "the members of the Irish Parliament should not make themselves tools of Britain," that "the next step would be to tax Ireland in the British House of Commons." But it was all of no avail, for the British ministry and crown had determined to coerce the Irish Parliament, and the bill passed the House by a majority of three to one. From self-interest alone it was entirely natural that the Irish should sympathize with the American cause, for they had a deep interest in the success of the Colonists. There were great hopes for Ireland if the Americans were successful, while if America lost, Ireland would have but little prospect of relief. "Lord Chatham's clear mind at once saw the closeness of interest between the two countries,

¹² These speeches were also printed in the *New York Packet* of February 22 and 29, 1776, in despatches dated Dublin, November 25, 1775.

and there were also those in the Irish Parliament who did not fail to perceive the same relationship. A few years later, stimulated by the moral influence of the American Revolution, the Catholics joined themselves into an association for the purpose of agitating complete independence. Lord Kenmare joined the association, but he was loyal to England, and when he proposed to certain influential Catholics that they raise a representative body of troops for the American service, his proposition was scornfully rejected by all but a few other landlords." So writes Lecky, in his *History of the American Revolution*.

And in the English Parliament, among the staunchest friends of America were three Irishmen, Burke, Barré, and Conolly, who were "ever on the side of liberty and justice,"¹³ and were the most fearless and intelligent opponents of the coercive measures introduced by the supporters of the government to subdue the Americans. And that these Irish members correctly interpreted the feeling of their countrymen is seen from the debates in the English House of Commons, as reported in the *Parliamentary Register*, in which it is shown that Burke and Barré on many occasions arraigned the conduct of the administration toward the Americans in the most severe and scathing language.¹⁴ In a speech delivered by

¹³ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 1, 1775.

¹⁴ Several speeches on American affairs by Burke and Barré may also be read in the Philadelphia newspapers of the year 1774 and 1775. Edmund Burke was the agent in England for the Province of New York, and in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of February 28, 1771, in referring to his reappointment to that post, the editor said: "This Gentleman's distinguished abilities and firm attach-



REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

EDMUND BURKE

THE LEADING ADVOCATE OF AMERICAN RIGHTS IN THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT,
BORN IN DUBLIN, IRELAND.

Lord Chatham in the English Parliament in January, 1775, he deprecated the coercive measures being taken against the Americans, saying that "the sending of armed troops was not the way to make them good subjects, for that three millions of people were not likely so soon to give up their most valuable rights and undoubted privileges." "Nay, what do I talk of three millions of people," said his lordship; "many more, *for Ireland is with them to a man*, and as for every Whig in this country, the rights of America are so connected with his own, that his hand and heart must co-operate with their measures." ¹⁵ One year later, Chatham, in warning England that war with France was imminent, said: "The whole Irish Nation favour the Americans." ¹⁶

During the Revolutionary War, so utterly fearless were Burke and Fox in their advocacy of American

ment to the American Cause will, no doubt, render his appointment very disagreeable to our enemies at home." A despatch from London on American affairs as discussed in Parliament, printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of June 27, 1771, closed with these words: "It would raise an honest Indignation in you, to hear some members of Parliament haranguing about 'our American Plantations,' as though the absolute Disposal of every Thing there was vested solely in themselves. Those members who most warmly espouse our Cause are Burke, Barré, Sir George Saville, and Mr. Pownal; to these Gentlemen the Colonies are much indebted for many excellent Defences."

¹⁵ Printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of April 12, 1775.

¹⁶ *Parliamentary Register*, Vol. II, p. 9. Lord Chatham, who was in the English Parliament the protagonist of American rights and liberties, became a hero in Ireland, and two streets built in Dublin about this time were named Chatham Street and Pitt Street in his honor. When Chatham's son resigned his commission in the army as a protest against the war, many Irish officers joined him.

rights, that "they openly proclaimed in Parliament their correspondence with Franklin, and they united with Chatham in holding that every British and Hessian victory was a victory over English freedom and in publicly giving encouragement to the American insurgents."¹⁷ Burke expressed his delight at America's victories, and he advised his own countrymen "not to join the army while the American war continued"; and, as one newspaper said, "the Ministry trembled under his terrible invective and the walls of Parliament never before resounded under such thunderous eloquence." Conolly, who was a conspicuous member of the Irish Parliament and was also a member of the British Parliament, warned his colleagues in the latter body that "if the French landed in the South of Ireland every man there will join them, and if the Americans land in the North they will be just as gladly received there."

It is an important fact generally acknowledged by impartial historians, that from the public utterances of these Irish members the American patriots received much hope and encouragement. Barré¹⁸ especially was an old and trusted friend of the Americans. "The best friend you have here is Colonel Barré," wrote Arthur Lee to Samuel Adams from London on June 10, 1771.¹⁹ "Barré was our great friend in Parliament and was more

¹⁷ Wharton's *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution*, Vol. I, p. 77.

¹⁸ Barré was of the old Franco-Irish family of Barry, descended from De Barrie who came to Ireland with the Norman invasion in 1172. He was born in Dublin in the year 1728 and died in 1802.

¹⁹ *Life of Arthur Lee*, by Richard Henry Lee, Vol. I, p. 216; Boston, 1829.

dreaded than any other orator of the Opposition.”²⁰ He had lived for some years in this country and formed a close friendship with several leading men, and some of his public addresses show that after his return to England he carried on a correspondence with his American friends and was intimately acquainted with the causes for American discontent. On the seventh of February, 1765, when the Stamp Act was introduced in Parliament, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townshend, denounced the Americans for their refusal “to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burden which we lie under.” Barré responded to the speech of Townshend, and in one of the most powerful addresses of his career, and to the utter amazement of the government supporters, he characterized the struggling Americans as “*those Sons of Liberty*.” When copies of Barré’s speech²¹ were circulated in America and organized opposition to the Stamp Act had begun, Barré’s shibboleth was at once adopted by the patriots and thenceforward the various patriotic associations began to call themselves the “Sons of Liberty.”

The organizations which thus came to be known as the “Sons of Liberty” receive much credit in history for their activities in arousing the people to a proper under-

²⁰ *The True History of the American Revolution*, by Sidney George Fisher, p. 219; Philadelphia, 1902.

²¹ Barré’s famous speech may be read in Lossing’s *Field Book of the Revolution*, Vol. I, pp. 462-463. See also Mrs. Martha J. Lamb’s *History of the City of New York*, Vol. I, pp. 715-717, for an interesting account of the electrical effect which it produced in America.

standing of their political situation, and it is generally conceded that it was the Sons of Liberty who began the agitation which culminated in the Revolution. For several years they had an uphill fight because of the fact that the officials of the country were almost exclusively English, or native sympathizers with the British government, and it was not until after the passage of the Stamp Act that the "Liberty Boys" began to attract any special notice among the people at large. Prior to this time, because of the primitive modes of travel, the patriotic feeling of the country was practically unorganized and whatever local associations did exist had no actual affiliations with one another, except on the part of individuals who carried on an irregular correspondence. But psychology sometimes plays a curious part in men's lives, and the psychological moment for action by the patriots arrived with the circulation of Barré's speech by the Colonial newspapers. And it is a circumstance worth recording that it was an Irishman who originated the name and thus gave a tremendous impetus to the Revolutionary movement in America.

The first publication in America of Barré's famous speech was in a New London newspaper, and an interesting circumstance in connection therewith is that it was an Irishman who, recognizing its importance and its possibilities for rousing the people, brought a copy of the speech from New York to New London. This was "the Irish gentleman friendly to the cause" mentioned by the historian Gordon, "who happened to be in New York when the celebrated Virginia Resolutions of 1765 were being handed about with great privacy. The Irish

gentleman alluded to, being there, inquired after them and with much precaution was permitted to make a copy. He carried them to New England, where they were published and circulated far and wide in the newspapers and proved eventually the occasion of those disorders which afterwards broke out in the Colonies.”²² The “Irish gentleman” referred to was John McCurdy, a wealthy merchant and shipowner of Lyme, Connecticut, an emigrant from Armagh, Ireland, in the year 1745.²³ We are told “he had a hereditary sense of wrong against the British government, which was quickly roused when oppressive measures were inaugurated against the American colonies, and he was fearless in his wish to meet the crisis with determined and outspoken opposition.”²⁴ He was the type of Irishman who served America well in that crisis, but whose history is, unfortunately, almost totally unknown to the American people of the present day.

Most people seem to think that the American Revolution began with the battle of Lexington, or, at any rate, that its beginning was the action of the “Boston Tea Party” of the year before. This is an erroneous assumption, however; for, as a matter of fact, the Revolution was an evolution which was going on in the minds of men for several years before these historic events, or, to be

²² *History of the Rise, Progress and Establishment of the Independence of the United States*, by William Gordon; New York, 1801.

²³ See Records of the Town of Lyme, Connecticut, and *Genealogical and Biographical Monographs*, compiled by Professor and Mrs. Edward E. Salisbury of New Haven, Connecticut.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

precise, since the passage of the Stamp Act in 1765. The New York newspapers of this time furnished ample evidence of the sympathy of the people of Ireland with the cause of the disturbed colonies. In Hugh Gainé's *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury* of February 10, 1766, I find an "extract of a letter from Philadelphia," which said: "Captain Jackson left Kingroad the 15th of November and Captain Ashmead the Cove of Cork the 12th of December, but bring no later papers from Cork than the 25th of November. The People of Ireland say we are fine fellows, and most heartily wish us Success in our Opposition to the Laws of Tyranny. Their toast is, *Destruction to the Stamp Act and Success to the Free Sons of Liberty in America*. Captain Ashmead says that it is spoke with great Positiveness that the Stamp Act will be repealed." The same paper of March 31, 1766, printed a despatch from Philadelphia, containing "the most agreeable intelligence" that "a vessel was arrived from Cork at Oxford, in Maryland, the Captain of which brought a Cork News Paper, in which was a Paragraph taken from one printed in Dublin, containing a Letter from a Member of Parliament to his Friend in Ireland, dated about the last of January, the Substance of which was, 'that every thing relating to the Affairs of America was settled, that the Stamp Act was to be repealed.' These glad tidings spread a general Joy all over the City, our Bells were set aringing, at Night, Bonfires were lighted and the Evening was spent most agreeably by the Inhabitants."

In the same paper of April 21, 1766, with an account of the arrival of the ship *Hibernia* from Ireland, there

were published several "extracts of letters from Londonderry," one of which reads: "March 9, this day the Packet brought the agreeable news to this town of the Stamp Act being repealed, which, be assured, has given us all here infinite pleasure. This goes by the *Hibernia*, Captain Keith, by whom we have the pleasure to inform you of the Repeal of the Stamp Act." The Act was repealed by the House of Commons on February 22, 1766; and it is an interesting circumstance that the first account of this welcome news was brought to America on a vessel named *Hibernia* which sailed from an Irish Port.²⁵ In addition to these significant statements, there may be seen in the newspapers two letters from Irish merchants in Cork and Dublin to their correspondents in New York and Philadelphia, encouraging the Colonists to renewed exertions for a repeal of the Stamp Act, and a despatch from Philadelphia in the *Mercury* of June 2, 1766, said: "From the different parts of Ireland our Accounts are that the Rejoicings on account of the Repeal of the Stamp Act were very general as well as very great there."

Thus we have first-hand evidence of the strong sympathy exhibited by the people of Ireland toward the

²⁵ Several historians say that the first news of the repeal of the Stamp Act reached this country "on a ship owned by John Hancock which arrived at Boston on May 13, 1766," but the above account from the *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury* proves that the news was brought by the *Hibernia* nearly a month before. The *Hibernia* sailed from Lough Swilly on March 15, 1766, and her arrival in New York is listed in that paper among "Vessels registered at the New York Custom House" under date of April 21, 1766.

patriot cause in America, and that this feeling was not confined to any particular section of the country. And that it was not a spasmodic outburst we are told by no less eminent an authority than Benjamin Franklin.

CHAPTER II

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S VISITS TO IRELAND

His letters show the friendliness of the people toward the American cause. His "Address to the Good People of Ireland on behalf of America." The Continental Congress sympathizes with the people of Ireland and acknowledges their "friendly disposition." Congress promises to grant Ireland her freedom. Cessation of American trade with Ireland. Indignation in England on the outbreak of the Revolution.

WHEN Franklin went to Europe in the capacity of diplomatic agent of the United Colonies he visited Ireland twice, the first time in the year 1769 and again in 1771. He received very cordial receptions everywhere from the people, and, as related by himself, he "met the principal patriots" and "a great dinner" was given in his honor by the citizens of Dublin; all of which was in direct contrast to the receptions he received in England.¹ Franklin's impressions from his visits to Ireland are related in his letters, now in the custody of the society which he founded in Philadelphia, the American Philosophical Society, and were published in the year 1906, under the title of *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin, with a Life and Introduction*, by Al-

¹ Jared Sparks, in his *Life of Franklin*, p. 326, says that Franklin was much abused by government officials and newspapers in England, and in the London post-office "some of his letters to America were clandestinely obtained and forwarded to the Ministers," who threatened his expulsion from the country.

bert Henry Smith and edited by John Bigelow. From these letters I have made the following extracts:

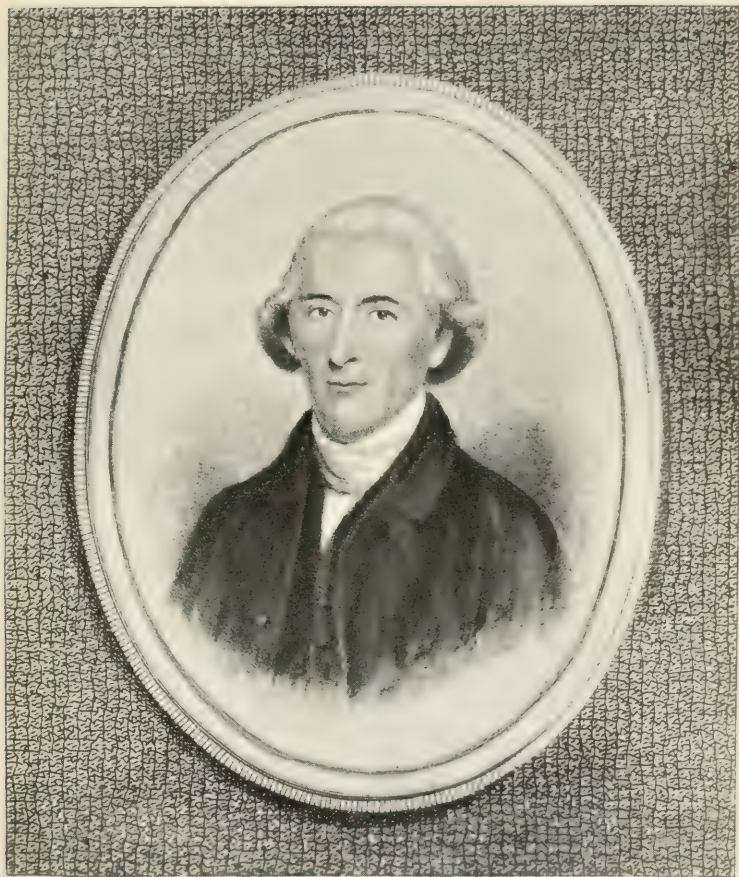
In a letter from Franklin to Dr. Samuel Cooper of Boston, dated London, April 27, 1769, he said: "All Ireland is strongly in favour of the American cause. They have reason to sympathize with us. I send you four Pamphlets written in Ireland or by Irish Gentlemen here, in which you will find some excellent, well said things."

In another letter to Samuel Cooper, dated London, April 4, 1770, Franklin said: "I send you a late edition of Molyneux's *Case of Ireland*,² with a new Preface, shrewdly written. Our part is warmly taken by the Irish in general, there being in many points a similarity in our cause."

In a letter from London, dated January 13, 1772, Franklin wrote James Bowdoin: "In Ireland among the Patriots I dined with Doctor Lucas.³ They are all friends of America, in which I said everything I could think of to confirm them. Lucas gave Mr. Bowdoin of Boston for his toast."

² In referring to this book, Lecky, in his *History of England during the Eighteenth Century* (Vol. II, p. 158), says: "The treatise of Molyneux in defence of Irish Liberty was becoming the text-book of American freedom."

³ This was Dr. Charles Lucas, the noted Irish patriot, who was well known in America. He is thus referred to in the Boston Town Records: "At a town meeting in Boston on March 12, 1771, a Letter from that celebrated Patriot, Dr. Lucas of Ireland, owning the receipt of one transmitted to him by a Committee of this Town together with the Pamphlet relative to the horrid Massacre in Boston, March 5, 1770, was read and attended with the greatest satisfaction."



REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

CHARLES THOMSON

SECRETARY OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, BORN IN COUNTY DERRY, IRELAND.

On the same date Franklin wrote Thomas Cushing, afterward Speaker of the Massachusetts General Assembly and Delegate to the Continental Congress: "I have now returned again to London from a Journey of some months in Ireland and Scotland." In this letter he gave an account of his tour in Ireland and of the civilities he received there. Describing his visit to the Irish Parliament House, he said:

"Before leaving Ireland I must mention that, being desirous of seeing the principal Patriots there, I staid till the opening of their Parliament. I found them disposed to be friends of America, in which I endeavoured to confirm them, with the Expectation that our growing weight might in time be thrown into their Scale, and, by joining our Interest with theirs, might be obtained for them, as well as for us, a more equitable Treatment from this Nation. There are many brave Spirits among them. The Gentry are a very sensible, polite, friendly and handsome People. Their Parliament makes a most Respectable Figure, with a number of very good Speakers in both Parties, and able Men of Business. And I must not omit acquainting you, that, it being a standing Rule to admit Members of the English Parliament (tho' they do not vote) in the House among the Members, while others are only admitted into the Gallery, my Fellow Traveler, being an English Member, was accordingly admitted as such. But I supposed I must go to the Gallery, when the Speaker stood up and acquainted the House that he understood there was in town an American Gentleman of (as he was pleased to say) distinguished Character and Merit, a Member or Delegate of some of the Parliaments of that Country, who was desirous of being present at the Debates of this House; that there was a Rule of the House for admitting Members of the English Parliament and that he did suppose the House would consider the American Assemblies as English Parliaments, but as this was the first Instance, he had chosen not to give any Order in it without receiving their Directions. On the Question the whole House gave a loud unanimous Aye; when two Members came to me without the Bar, where I was standing, led me in and placed

me very honourably. This, I am more particular to you, as I esteemed it a mark of respect for our Country, and a piece of politeness in which I hope our Parliament will not fall behind theirs, whenever an occasion shall offer."

How vastly different from this was the reception which Franklin received from the government officials in London on the occasion of his appearance before the Privy Council in the month of February, 1774! The Massachusetts General Assembly sent to Franklin a petition to the King complaining of the actions of Governor Hutchinson, and when the King referred the petition to the Privy Council for investigation, Franklin was summoned before it to present evidence in support of the petition. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of April 22, 1774, printed a report of these proceedings in this wise:

"London, February 19, 1774.—The Ministerial People here are outrageously angry with Dr. Franklin. They took occasion, when he attended the Council with the Petition of the Massachusetts-Bay, to set the Solicitor-General upon him, who, leaving the business there was before their Lordships, in a virulent Invective of an Hour, filled with Scurrility, abused him personally, to the great Entertainment of Thirty-five Lords of the Privy-Council, who had been purposely invited as to a Bull-Baiting, and not one of them had the Sense to reflect of the Impropriety and Indecency of treating, in so ignominious a Manner, a Public Messenger, whose Character in all Nations, savage as well as civilized, used to be deemed sacred, and his Person under Protection, even when coming from an Enemy. Nor did one of them check the Orator's Extravagance and recall him to the Point under Consideration, but generally appeared much delighted, chuckling, laughing, and sometimes loudly applauding."

Said the writer of the despatch:

"I did not before think it possible for any Persons in their Stations to behave in a manner so extremely unbecoming, especially when sitting in a Judicial capacity. I never was in America, but I do not believe that any Judges or Justices of any of your Inferior Courts, in the back Countries, would have conducted themselves with so little Dignity, or have disgraced themselves so much, as to suffer a Lawyer to treat even a Criminal at their Bar with so much Outrage."

It was natural that this news should be received with indignation in America, and in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of May 4, 1774, there is an account of the burning at Philadelphia of the effigies of Governor Hutchinson and of the English Solicitor-General, "convicted of traducing the American Colonies and insulting their Agent before His Majesty's Privy Council for doing his duty." "The effigies were exposed," says this account, "for several hours, then hung and burnt amidst a vast concourse of People, who testified their Resentment against the Originals with the loudest Acclamation."

That Franklin appreciated fully the friendliness of the Irish toward the American cause is further proved by his letter to his son, Governor William Franklin of New Jersey, dated London, June 30, 1774, in relation to the "Non-Importation Agreement" then about to be introduced by the Continental Congress. In that letter he said: "I should be sorry if Ireland is included in your agreement, because that country is much our Friend, and the want of flax seed may distress them exceedingly, but your Merchants can best judge. It can only be meant against England to ensure a change of measures, and not to hurt Ireland, with whom we have no quarrel."

During the third year of the war, Benjamin Franklin

again addressed the Irish people, and in language whose sincerity cannot be misunderstood. Franklin was then in France, and from Versailles on the 4th of October, 1778, he wrote "An Address to the Good People of Ireland on behalf of America." This document begins with these words:

"The misery and distress which your ill-fated country has been so frequently exposed to, and has so often experienced, by such a combination of rapine, treachery and violence, as would have disgraced the name of government in the most arbitrary country in the world, has most sincerely affected your friends in America, and has engaged the most serious attention of Congress."

He explained at length that the Colonies were not merely fighting for constitutional liberty, but for commercial liberty as well, and drew attention to the analogy which existed between the cause of Ireland and that of America. He went on to say:

"I have in my commission to repeat to you, my good friends, the cordial concern that Congress takes in everything that relates to the happiness of Ireland; they are sensibly affected by the load of oppressive pensions on your establishment; the arbitrary and illegal exactions of public money by King's letters; the profuse dissipation by sinecure appointments, with large salaries, and the very arbitrary and impolitic restrictions of your trade and manufactures, which are beyond example in the history of the world, and can only be equalled by that illiberal spirit which directs it, and which has shown itself so abundantly in petitions from all parts of their islands, and in the debates of their House of Commons, when you had been lately amused with the vain hope of an extension of your trade, and which were conducted with such temper and language as might be supposed to suit their copper-coloured allies in America, but must fix a stain on the character of a civilized nation for ever."

But the most striking passage of this remarkable document is Franklin's statement that if the British government did not remove the restraint on Irish trade and manufactures, "means will be found [i. e., by the American Congress] to establish your freedom in this respect in the fullest and amplest manner."

"But as for you, our dear and good friends of Ireland, we must cordially recommend to you to continue peaceable and quiet in every possible situation of your affairs, and endeavour by mutual good will to supply the defects of administration. But if the government, whom you at this time acknowledge, does not, in conformity to her own true interest, take off and remove every restraint on your trade, commerce and manufactures, I am charged to assure you, that means will be found to establish your freedom in this respect, in the fullest and amplest manner. And as it is the ardent wish of America to promote, as far as her other engagements will permit, a reciprocal commercial interest with you, I am to assure you, they will seek every means to establish and extend it; and it has given the most sensible pleasure to have those instructions committed to my care, as I have ever retained the most perfect good will and esteem for the people of Ireland."

It is strange that this interesting document has escaped the notice of American historians and is not printed in any of the editions of Franklin's works, but that may have been because his biographers did not examine the records of the Public Record Office at London, where the original printed copies of the address are on file.⁴ In an account of the address published by Paul Leicester Ford in the year 1891, he explains that "a large number of the broadside were put on board a Dutch smuggler at Brest to carry to Ireland," that

⁴ Among *State Papers, Ireland*, Vol. CCCCLXI.

“they were discovered by an English privateer whose commander delivered them to the captain of his Majesty’s ship *Portland*, by whom they were forwarded to the Lords of the Admiralty, and thence transferred to the Public Record Office.”⁵ Thus Franklin was thwarted in his design to circulate this document among the people of Ireland, but only temporarily, for by some means a copy of it was secured by the editor of the *Hibernian Journal*, who published it in the issue of that paper of November 2-4, 1778.⁶

The patriot leaders on this side of the Atlantic were fully apprised by Franklin of the kindly feeling of the Irish toward their cause, and that this fact was fully recognized is shown by the historic “Address to the People of Ireland” adopted at a meeting of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia on July 28, 1775. The address is of too great length to insert here, but the following passage will serve to show what mutual bonds of sympathy existed at that time between the American and the Irish people. After relating the causes which led to the defection of the Colonies from England, and their

⁵ A copy of this address may be seen among the Revolutionary Broad-sides in the “Reserve Room” of the New York Public Library, or at the Library of Congress. When collecting the material for this work, the author received permission from the Secretary of the Public Record Office in London to have a facsimile made of Franklin’s “Address,” but when the photographer applied on July 4, 1918, at the Public Record Office, he was informed that “the document has been withdrawn by order of the Government until further notice.”

⁶ Lecky, in his *History of Ireland during the Eighteenth Century* (Vol. II, p. 226), says: “Franklin’s *Address* was widely circulated in Ireland,” doubtless through the medium of the *Hibernian Journal*.

reasons for suspending all trade with that country as well as with Ireland, the address proceeds:

“And here permit us to assure you that it was with the utmost reluctance we could prevail upon ourselves to cease our commercial connection with your island. *Your* Parliament has done us no wrong. *You* had ever been friendly to the rights of mankind; and we acknowledge, with pleasure and gratitude, that *your* nation has produced patriots who have nobly distinguished themselves in the cause of humanity and America.

“On the other hand, we were not ignorant that the labour and manufactures of Ireland, like those of the silk-worm, were of little moment to herself; but served only to give luxury to those *who neither toil nor spin*. We perceived that if we continued our commerce with you, our agreement not to import from Britain would be fruitless, and were, therefore, compelled to adopt a measure to which nothing but absolute necessity would have reconciled us. It gave us however, some consolation to reflect that should it occasion much distress, the fertile regions of America would afford you a safe asylum from poverty, and, in time, from oppression also; an asylum in which many thousands of your countrymen have found hospitality, peace, affluence, and become united to us by all the ties of consanguinity, mutual interest, and affection.”

And again:

“Accept our most grateful acknowledgments for the friendly disposition you have always shown to us. We know that *you* are not without your grievances. We sympathize with you in your distress, and are pleased to find that the design of subjugating us has persuaded the administration to dispense to Ireland some vagrant rays of ministerial sunshine. Even the tender mercies of government have long been cruel toward you. In the rich pastures of Ireland many hungry parricides have fed, and grown strong to labour in its destruction. We hope the patient abiding of the meek may not always be forgotten; and God grant that the iniquitous schemes of extirpating liberty by the British Empire may soon be defeated.”⁷

⁷ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Vol. II, pp. 212-218.

The address was signed, "John Hancock, President," and was prepared by a committee comprised of James Duane, William Livingston, and John and Samuel Adams. (The italics in the foregoing are as they appear in the original.)

And again, on October 2, 1775, the following resolution, introduced by the Committee on Trade, was passed unanimously by the Continental Congress:

"As the cessation of the American trade with Ireland originated in policy dictated by principles of self-preservation and may be attended with distress to a people who have always manifested a noble regard to the rights of mankind and have been friendly to these much injured Colonies, your committee are of opinion that great kindness and attention ought to be paid to such of that oppressed nation as have or may come to settle in America, and that it be earnestly recommended by this Congress to the good people of these Colonies to let them have lands at a cheap rate, and on easy terms, and that the several conventions and assemblies and committees throughout these confederate countries afford them aid and do them every friendly office. And it having been represented to your committee that the withholding flax seed from Ireland will be attended with a much greater degree of distress and ruin to the poor of that Kingdom than the Congress apprehended, they are of opinion that our friends and fellow subjects in Ireland should be permitted to take flax seed from these Colonies in exchange for all such powder or other military stores and woollen yarn of their manufacture as they shall bring to America." ⁸

This resolution was of the greatest significance, as not alone exhibiting the fellow-feeling which existed between these two struggling peoples, but also as an indication of the great desire of the representatives of the American people in Congress to induce as many Irishmen as

⁸ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Vol. III, p. 269.

possible to come hither and settle in the new country, knowing well that they could depend on them as faithful colonists and defenders of America. The sentiments thus expressed were not by any means a mere sudden outburst or bid for sympathy or aid; for, as shown by the correspondence of Benjamin Franklin, the thorough identification of Irish feeling with American success had been of long standing.

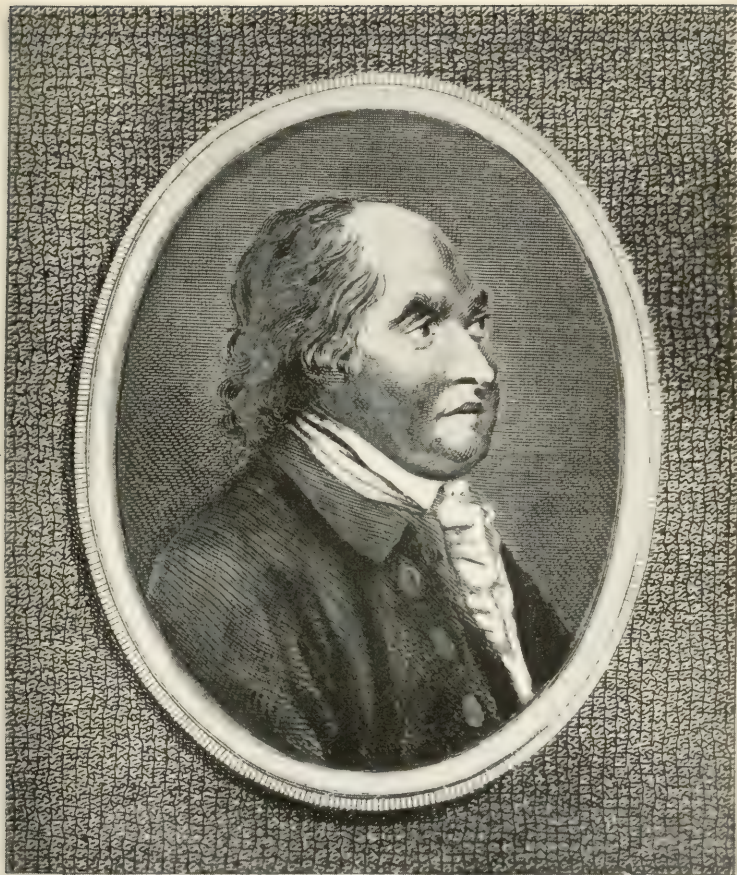
Some historical writers endeavor to make George III. the scapegoat of English politics of the time. They assert that the misgovernment of the American Colonies was the outcome of "the mistaken policy of King George," that "the English people as a whole were not only apathetic to the American revolt, but numbers of them sympathized with their American brethren." And it has become the fashion in late years for our public men to extol "the stand taken by the English people during the War of the Revolution" and to "excuse" the Colonists on the ground that their uprising was against "a crazy English King of alien blood," not against "the English Democracy, with whom they had everything in common." There is no denying the fact that certain liberal minds in England before the war regarded the questions agitating the Colonists with much sympathy, and in some instances public men went so far as to encourage the leaders on this side of the water. And in the official *Register* of the proceedings of Parliament may be found references to the attitude of these English Whigs, who vainly tried to defend the Colonists against the overwhelming strength of the supporters of the government. But from contemporary accounts we learn

that after the news of the revolt reached England it set the whole country in a blaze of resentment, and, as in the case of the Roman populace of old who wished to destroy their enemy, the significant cry of *Delendo est Carthago* was raised in the House of Commons, and, as we are told, "the House of Lords became a seething caldron of impotent rage"!

Meetings were held in many places throughout England, from which addresses and petitions "glowing with loyalty to the King and indignation against the rebels" were poured in upon the King and his ministry, and Lord Chatham declared in a speech in Parliament in 1775: "There is scarcely a man in our streets, though so poor as scarcely to be able to get his daily bread, but thinks he is the legislator of America. 'Our American subjects' is a common phrase in the mouths of the lowest order of our citizens." "In England," says Spencer, "there was a general sentiment in favour of compelling the colonists to submission";⁹ and Taylor states: "The war for the subjugation of the Americans was at first decidedly popular in England. From the habit of using the phrase, '*our colonies*,' there was not an English peasant who did not regard the colonists as rebels against himself, and as enemies to some fancied authority and power which he deemed the privilege of every Englishman by his birth-right."¹⁰ As an instance of this, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on May 4, 1774, published an extract of a letter from London dated February 14,

⁹ Spencer, *History of the United States*.

¹⁰ William G. Taylor, *History of Ireland*, Vol. II, p. 238; New York, 1836.



REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

ISAAC BARRÉ

"AMERICA'S GREAT FRIEND IN PARLIAMENT," BORN IN DUBLIN, IRELAND.

which said: "You will have heard before this reaches you, how infamously Doctor Franklin has been treated by Administration, and you will soon see in what light they behold American Petitions. There is not a more obnoxious Character here at present than that of a friend of America. The Colonists should, therefore, be more particularly attentive to cultivating Union and Harmony among themselves. The Spirit of this Country is extremely hostile to them, and they have nothing to depend upon but their own Union and Firmness." From all of which we can understand that the position taken by such men as Chatham, Fox, Burke, Barré, and Conolly at the outset of the Revolution was an especially hazardous one.

That Franklin's interest in the welfare of the people of Ireland, as exemplified in his address of October 4, 1778, did not abate after this time is shown clearly by his correspondence in the possession of the American Philosophical Society. He fully appreciated the fact that Irish sympathy with the struggling Colonists was manifested in all countries where the Irish exiles had found a home, and many of Franklin's correspondents during the period of the war were Irish military officers in the armies of the Continental Powers, anxious to fight for American freedom. One James Shanley wrote him from Paris on May 28, 1777, saying he had "left Ireland about six weeks before to offer his services to the American cause," and stating further that "there are many staunch friends of that cause in Ireland, but they dare not declare themselves openly." He related his "experience in disciplining troops," and stated that "should

Franklin give him an encouraging answer to his application for a commission in the American army, there are many in Ireland waiting only for that to follow him." A Franco-Irish officer named O'Meara wrote Franklin on May 14, 1777, expressing his "great desire to serve the American cause," and stating that "if he should receive any encouragement, he will throw up his commission in France and set out immediately for the Congress." On July 1, 1777, Comte O'Donnell, then colonel of a Polish regiment at Lemberg, tendered his sword to the service of America; and on September 4th of the same year, Baron O'Cahill, commandant of French troops, wrote from Strasbourg, stating that he was "a member of an ancient and noble family of Ireland," relating his military experience, and offering his services to the same cause. From Nancy, on February 7, 1779, Captain O'Heguerty wrote that he "has a profession and a fortune, but detests idleness" and "desires to enter the American army."

Robert O'Connell wrote Franklin from Paris on August 26, 1779, offering "to take care of American Consular interests at any of the Spanish ports," and Captain MacCarthy More wrote from Boulogne on July 4, 1781, offering "to enter the service of the United States." On April 11, 1782, Chevalier O'Gorman recommended Dr. John O'Connor, who "desired to serve America, either in the army or in the hospitals." In his application for a commission, Henry O'Neill informed Franklin on July 8, 1782, that "the more the Irish are ill treated, the more emigrants will flock to America and France to fill the armies"; but, on account

of their "miserable situation in France," he strongly advised Franklin to make provision for Irish officers in the American army, fearing the possibility that the English service might be made so attractive for them that they would be induced to serve the enemy.

Irish officers also sought employment in the American naval service. Jonathan Williams wrote from Nantes on December 2, 1780, recommending to Franklin "a commission for Captain James Byrnes," commander of a merchant vessel. In a letter from John Torris¹¹ from Dunkirk on October 8, 1779, informing Franklin that the American privateer, *Black Prince*, had been put under the command of Captain Patrick Dowlin,¹² the writer "hoped that a title in the United

¹¹ John Torris was one of Franklin's agents at the port of Dunkirk and was engaged in fitting out American privateers to prey on English commerce, and in one of his letters to Franklin he said: "The crews and captains were generally taken from the Irish and English smugglers which crowded the port." Several Irish sea-captains, anxious to take part in the war against England, came to Dunkirk and laid before Franklin's agents plans to raid enemy ports, or to capture English merchantmen, and in a report from Francis Coffyn to Silas Deane on April 12, 1778, he requested that he "lay before Doctor Franklin the plan of Captain Christopher Farron, a noted Irish smuggler, who, if given a commission, would undertake to capture a certain rich linen ship which loads at Dublin four times a year for London."

¹² This officer was very active in the pursuit of enemy shipping. Previous to this time, he had been master of the American privateer, *Black Princess*, and according to a letter from Franklin to Samuel Huntington, President of Congress, on August 10, 1780, "The *Black Prince* and the *Black Princess* greatly harassed the English coasting trade; in eighteen months they captured 120 ships belonging to the enemy." The *Black Prince* was wrecked off the Belgian

States Navy can be obtained for the brave Mr. Ryan, who has a new cutter being built for him at Boulogne," and stated that "great things are to be expected from such a ship and captain." Two days later, Captain Luke Ryan, of the privateer *Fearnot*, wrote Franklin from Dunkirk, saying that he "expects to have a large cutter completed in four months, with which he hopes to do great damage to the enemy; and if his abilities deserve Franklin's protection, begs for a rank in the United States Navy," since he "regards the American cause as his own." Captain Ryan again wrote Franklin saying that he "waits with impatience the commission for his ship *Fearnot*," and that he had "refused offers made by the French" because he "desires to serve only under the American flag." That the gallant Captain's ambition was gratified is seen from a letter to Franklin from John Torris on June 7, 1780, relating to "Captain Ryan's distinguished conduct in the *Fearnought*," then in the American service.

All told, there are in this collection nearly one hundred letters to Franklin from Irish sympathizers, and among them is an interesting communication dated Cologne, August 25, 1781, from Rev. William Nixon, saying that he "is an Irish Catholic priest, taken pris-

coast and Captain Dowlin and his crew were captured by an English warship, and, when reporting the incident to Franklin, Torris said: "Your Excellency has had their names; several are born Americans, others Irish, but all sworn subjects of the United States. I read in the *Kentish Gazette* that these people were sent to Penzance to be tried by the high courts of Admiralty for piracy, because they were Irishmen or subjects of Great Britain."

oner on his passage home from England, and now on parole"; that "if he can obtain his liberty, he desires to go to America"; thanking Franklin "for America's noble exertions, seen in the free trade granted to Ireland," and prophesying "success to America." Eleven of these letters are from Dr. Ignatius MacMahon, of Paris, and forty-three from Sir Edward Newenham, of Dublin, the noted advocate of American rights in the Irish Parliament; and one of the interesting documents among Franklin's papers is a resolution sent to him from Dublin on April 26, 1784, by "The Sons of the Shamrock," lauding the French nation for its support of America. Dr. MacMahon was attached to the Military School at Paris, and in a letter to Franklin on December 19, 1777, he said: "The gentlemen of this house are well-wishers to the American cause and are delighted with the news of Burgoyne's defeat," and in another letter from MacMahon dated March 22, 1778, he congratulated Franklin on "the results of the negotiations with France," saying "America's independence is assured," and plaintively asking, "When will poor Ireland's turn come?" Among Sir Edward Newenham's letters is one dated Marseilles, January 2, 1779, in reference to "the protection and assistance he rendered to Americans in Ireland, particularly Colonel Ethan Allen and those who were with him," and on June 25, 1779, Newenham again advised Franklin of "the steps he had taken to have American prisoners released," and wished Franklin to write him "so as to prove to his countrymen in Ireland that his support of the liberties of America had been noticed by Franklin." From Dublin, Newenham wrote

on November 6, 1780, saying that "the sympathy of the Irish people is entirely with the United States," and detailing certain "attentions given to American prisoners in Ireland," the release of a number of whom he had already secured; and the importance of these "attentions" may be judged from the fact that at the port of Kinsale alone at this time four hundred American prisoners were held under guard by English soldiers.¹³

In one of Franklin's letters to Newenham, written from Passy on May 27, 1779, in relation to a request received by him for "passports for a great number of people from Ireland who were desirous of going to settle in America," he said: "I admire the spirit with which I see the Irish are at length determined to claim some share of that freedom of commerce which is the right of all mankind, but of which they have been so long deprived by the abominable selfishness of their fellow-subjects." It is evident also that Franklin was in correspondence with the Marquis de Lafayette on this subject, for on November 2, 1779, Lafayette wrote him, saying he was "glad the Irish patriots are beginning to stir." And that the Irish situation, and the possible effect which a rising of the patriots would have on the war, were watched with keen interest by Lafayette is

¹³ Richard Hare, of Cork, wrote Franklin on February 23, 1782, "on behalf of nearly two hundred prisoners in wretched confinement," stating that many of them would have perished but for the fact that some citizens of Cork had raised a subscription for their support, and he asked Franklin to try and have their exchange effected.

shown by his letter to John Adams on February 7, 1780, wherein he said: "The troubles in Ireland, if there is the least common sense amongst the first patriots in that country, are not, I hope, at an end, and it seems they now begin to raise new expectations." Among Franklin's papers there is a memorandum in his handwriting dated November, 1779, indicating that "a descent on Ireland" was seriously contemplated, and that negotiations toward that end were carried on between Franklin and the patriots in Ireland, doubtless with a view not only of diverting England from her attack on the Colonies, but of bringing about the freedom of Ireland. One of the interesting communications on this subject is a letter, signed "Freedom," to William Temple Franklin,¹⁴ dated Dublin, June 17, 1781, in which the writer declared that "since Irish trade and commerce gets no protection from the British Government, . . . now is the time for France and the United States to strike a crushing blow at England to help Ireland to secure her independence."

In a letter to Franklin from Marseilles on January 6, 1783, Sir Edward Newenham referred to his consistent "support of the American cause in Ireland," and related an "attempt of the British Government to secure an address of support from the citizens of Dublin during the war," but "the people were so overwhelmingly opposed to it, the Government feared to draft many troops out of Ireland—only two thousand of the thir-

¹⁴ Benjamin Franklin's grandson, who was with him in France, and who afterward served as Secretary to the American Peace Commissioners.

teen thousand troops in Ireland having been sent to America." He predicted "a great future for the United States," and recalled "the Address of Congress to the People of Ireland, signed in August, 1775," which had been sent to him for distribution among the people. Toward the close of the war, the question of the terms of the peace treaty became the subject of correspondence between Newenham and Franklin. In a letter from Marseilles on November 12, 1782, Newenham said: "It is feared the British Janus does not intend to deal fairly by the Kingdom of Ireland in the expected Treaty of Peace." He wished to know "if Ireland is particularly mentioned," and he sent Franklin "a public letter written by him to the men of Ireland, advising them to demand this of their King." One year later, Newenham again wrote Franklin, desiring "to know by return post whether Ireland is mentioned in the Treaty," and stating that Franklin was "warranted in demanding this information from Mr. Hartley";¹⁵ that "the Ministry is evading this question,"¹⁶ that "public expectation is high and Dublin in a state of

¹⁵ David Hartley, an English member of Parliament and "Commissioner for Negotiating Peace in America."

¹⁶ At the very hour this book is going to press, "history is repeating itself," for it is a notorious fact that "the Ministry is evading this question" by their palpably dishonest efforts to show to the world that "Great Britain is ready to bestow self-government upon Ireland," but that "it is only the quarrels and disputes between Irishmen themselves that prevent a solution of this great question." —(Speech of Winston Spencer Churchill, English Cabinet Minister, at Dundee, Scotland, December 11, 1918.)

the greatest anxiety," but that "the people place dependence on Franklin's assistance."

The most friendly intercourse continued between Franklin and Newenham for several years after the close of the war. Newenham's last letter to Franklin on the subject of the peace treaty seems to have been on January 14, 1784, when he wrote from Carlow, calling attention to his "early pleadings for the rights of America,"¹⁷ and stating that "what Ireland did for America deserves very warm returns in national connection and friendship." While there is no record of any reply from Franklin to this letter, nor any indication as to what may have been his attitude on the question of Ireland's claims for American support, the Peace Commissioners, as we know, did not present Ireland's case; and unfortunately, the Irish themselves failed to take advantage of this golden opportunity! But the position taken by the people of Ireland in the war was not forgotten by their enemies, and in one of Newenham's letters to Franklin, dated November 12, 1786, he said that "his address against permitting the Irish army to be sent to America has never been forgiven by the enemies of American independence." These letters fully corroborate the other evidence quoted in this work as to the uncompromising attitude of the Irish in favor of the cause of the American Colonies.

¹⁷ See extract at page 14 of the speech of Sir Edward Newenham in the Irish Parliament.

CHAPTER III

IRISH SYMPATHY FOR THE REVOLTING COLONIES

Bancroft again misstates the facts as to the troops sent from Ireland to fight the Americans. Fruitless efforts to raise recruits in Ireland. Young men kidnapped and sent on board the transports. Important statement by Arthur Lee. Extracts from American newspapers. Irish soldiers deserted to the "rebels." Craven Irish Catholic landlords.

IN referring to the triumph of the Irish Volunteers, Bancroft says it was one of "the first fruits of the American Revolution," but that "the gratitude of the Irish took the direction of loyalty to their King, and in 1782, their legislature voted one hundred thousand pounds for the levy of twenty thousand Seamen."¹ The manner in which this circumstance is related by the historian makes it appear that the Irish made a gratuitous gift of this large sum of money to the English navy in its fight against the Americans. But Bancroft did not explain that the Irish Parliament at this time was indebted to England in the sum of nine hundred thousand pounds;² that the government, on account of the state of its crippled exchequer, demanded reimbursement in order to strengthen the fleet "against a threatened invasion by the French fleet on the coasts of England and Ireland," and that the amount voted was only in part

¹ *History of the United States*, Vol. V, p. 544.

² *Journals of the House of Commons*, May 27, 1782.

payment of this huge loan. The proposition to aid the government in this emergency was made by Henry Flood, who proposed "that four ships of one hundred guns each, to be called after the four Provinces of this Kingdom, be presented to the King and Parliament of Great Britain," and in doing so Flood only committed another act of perfidy to his country, in line with his notoriously unpatriotic part since the beginning of the war. While the Irish Parliament rejected Flood's proposal to vote a gratuity to the English crown, yet, in view of the then generally admitted fact that the Americans had practically won their independence,³ the Journals of the House show that they decided to make partial refund of their indebtedness by "loaning" England "one hundred thousand pounds, with interest at three pence in the pound."

Bancroft also says that "the people [of Ireland] sent against them [the Americans] some of their best troops and their ablest men," thereby insinuating that the Irish people not only opposed the cause of the Americans, but virtually fought on the side of their oppressors. Let us see what the facts are from the journals of the time and other current sources of information.

Holt's *New York Journal or General Advertiser* of June 22, 1775, printed a despatch from Cork dated April 17, stating that there were then "16,000 regular troops in Ireland, paid for by this poor, taxed country." These troops were comprised of English, Scotch, and

³ The debates in the English Parliament, as reported in the *Parliamentary Register*, show that long before 1782 the English had given up all hope of defeating the Americans.

Irish regiments and were "quartered on Ireland on the pretence of protecting the people, but really so as to relieve England of the expense of maintaining them."⁴ Although every Irish soldier in the English army was an additional link strengthening the chain which bound his country to England, yet the pinch of poverty drove them into the army. But the troops despatched from Ireland to America in 1775 and 1776 did *not* enlist for service in this country, for these regiments had already been in existence, and the journals of the time plainly show that although the most feverish attempts were made to raise fresh troops in Ireland for service in America, they were almost entirely unsuccessful. Every conceivable kind of subterfuge was adopted to stimulate recruiting; recruiting officers went among the farmers and told them that if they would induce their sons to enlist "they would be exempted from certain taxes"; the youth of the country had held up to them all "the glorious pano-ply of war"; liquor flowed like water in almost every town and hamlet in the south of Ireland, and "bounties of one guinea a head, and the King's bounty," and offers of "larger pay than they could possibly earn at home"⁵ were offered by the recruiting officers. Press-warrants were issued authorizing the arrest of recalcitrants; the recruiting officers even visited the jails and poorhouses of the country and were glad to accept the

⁴ The great surprise is that there was not more wide-spread sentiment in Ireland in favor of sending these troops on foreign service, for the people would then be rid of one of the most burdensome forms of taxation imposed on the country.

⁵ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 29, 1775.

human derelicts whom misfortune had driven there. In the south, appeals were made on the ground that the Americans were Protestants, and in the north that they were about to establish the Roman Catholic religion in America; yet all these efforts came practically to naught, for the Irish were glad that the Americans had revolted and were in a delirium of joy at the prospect of the government being compelled to send such large bodies of troops out of the country, and that they themselves would at last have a chance to strike a blow for independence.

In Holt's paper of October 26, 1775, there is an account from Ireland which reads in part: "Though most of the people here wish well to the cause in which you are engaged, and would rejoice to find you continue firm and steadfast, yet it is the prevailing opinion, especially among the friends of Government (so-called), that you will at last be frightened into submission to ministerial measures. They are raising recruits throughout this Kingdom. *The men are told they are only going to Edinburgh to learn military discipline and are then to return.* The common people are industriously kept from the knowledge of public affairs. They know nothing but what the great please to tell them. Newspapers since the Stamp Act are so high, the poor and middling people cannot purchase them." ⁶

⁶ The following, which is printed in full in Force's *American Archives* (4th Ser., Vol. III, pp. 619-620), serves as an instance of the many encouraging letters sent by Irish sympathizers to friends in America and which were published in American newspapers. The letter is dated September 1, 1775, and is headed by

What action do we find England took when she managed to get these troops safely on board her trans-

Force, "Letter from Ireland to an acquaintance in New York." Among other things, the writer said: "Dear countrymen and fellow-sufferers, who have been so happy as to have your lot in a land of liberty, though now persecuted and your rights invaded, suffer not your most precious inheritance, your liberty and property, your noble constitution, to be torn from you. You are contending for what is of more value than life; fear not to risk your lives freely in defence of it. Keep your presses free, that the people may know all that concerns them and all that is doing against them. By every means in your power, keep corruption from influencing any of your offices of public trust. You cannot possibly be too much guarded against this terrible evil, which has almost undone us here. Let not arbitrary power and despotism have any footing among you. Many in this country, who groan under it, would be glad to give their utmost assistance, and hope to be over with you before the contest is ended. In my opinion, if you continue firm, you will, without doubt, succeed in your glorious struggle; justice will give strength to your arms, and weaken those of your enemies. God Himself is on your side and will cause them to fall before you. Meanwhile, let me caution you against the least appearance of submission. You can hardly conceive the ill effect of everything that may feed the hopes of your enemies; even base complaisance in this case is criminal, for, like drowning men, they are ready to catch at straws, and if possible, interpret everything you say or do in favour of their own designs, whereby they are encouraged to continue their efforts to subdue you. It behooves you, therefore, to be resolute, plain, and absolute in your refusal of every proposal that implies giving up one tittle of your rights and liberties, or might bring them into the least danger, and resist every attempt against them with all your might. The least slackness or compliance on your part will embolden them to proceed in their endeavours to enforce their laws, to tax and enslave you. May God guide and protect you!

"I am a sincere friend to the natural rights and liberties of mankind.

"(Signed) M. W."

ports? The answer is found in Holt's paper of November 23, 1775, in a despatch dated London, September 1, 1775, saying: "Five thousand troops are clandestinely shipped in Ireland and are absolutely sailed for Boston." This system of kidnapping Irishmen for the English army continued for several years, and the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of January 31, 1776, in a despatch from London dated October 28, said: "We hear from Cork that on Tuesday, the 10th ult., at one o'clock, when the army were in their beds, without previous notice a draft was made from the two regiments, and at seven o'clock they were taken to Cove and embarked for America." And as an indication that many of the men had deserted, the statement continues: "We are assured the 23d regiment does not consist of more than one hundred men."

And the fact that the Irish never wavered in their sympathies, even when the fortunes of war seemed to be going against the Americans, is verified by newspaper accounts showing that many of the soldiers were "compelled to go on board the transports, where they were chained down to the ring bolts and fed with bread and water; several of them suffered this torture before they could be made to yield and sign the paper of enlistment." From another account we learn that "many of them openly professed their resolution of firing upon their enemies in action, if reduced to that necessity, declaring they could never look upon the people of America, among whom they had hoped for an asylum from heavy taxes and oppression, in any other light than

true friends, and therefore could never think of treating them as enemies." All of which was confirmed by Arthur Lee, confidential agent in Europe of the "Secret Committee of Correspondence,"⁷ when he wrote to Washington from Berlin on June 15, 1777: "The resources of our enemy are almost annihilated in Germany, and their last resort is to the Roman Catholics of Ireland. They have already experienced their unwillingness to go, every man of a regiment raised there last year having obliged them to ship him off tied and bound, and most certainly they will desert more than any troops whatsoever. They themselves rely upon the present campaign, so that if it should not produce something very decisive in their favour, which God forbid, we may depend upon their efforts being on the wane."⁸

Three months previous to that time, Lee was in Spain, and in reporting his efforts to procure supplies of ammunition and clothing for the American army, he wrote from Burgos to the Secret Committee of Correspondence on March 8, 1777: "It will also be my endeavour to procure some able veteran officers from the Irish Brigades in this service";⁹ and ten days later we find him again writing to the committee that the Spanish authorities "have promised to examine whether there are

⁷ This committee was appointed by the Continental Congress in December, 1775, "to correspond with friends in Great Britain, Ireland, and other parts of the world."

⁸ *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution*, edited by Jared Sparks, Vol. II, p. 73; Boston, 1829.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 40.

any veteran Irish officers fit for your service, and if there are to send them.”¹⁰

The despatch above quoted from Holt’s paper further said: “The people of Ireland in general, we hear, are extremely out of temper and displeased with the Court on many accounts, but on none so much as the arming five thousand Irish Papists for the purpose of subduing their fellow-subjects in America.” In the same issue of Holt’s paper there was printed “an intercepted letter from Ireland” to an English army officer at Boston, dated August 20, 1775, which said in part: “Great preparations are making to recruit the regiments both here and in America. They have given Lord Kenmare leave to enlist four thousand Catholics for the latter purpose, but as yet they have but little success. The foolish idea of fighting against their countrymen prevents them.” Says another account: “The service is so disagreeable to the people of Ireland in general that few of the recruiting officers can prevail upon the men to enlist and fight against their American brethren.”¹¹

In the *Journals of the New York Provincial Congress*,¹² under date of June 30, 1776, there is an entry relating to the arrival of “Captain Thompson who left Cove¹³ in Ireland the 6th of May last.” In referring to four regiments about to leave Cork for America, Cap-

¹⁰ Sparks, p. 48. It does not appear that any Irish army officers were sent from Spain, doubtless for the reason that war between Spain and England was then imminent.

¹¹ Force’s *American Archives*, 4th Ser., Vol. III, p. 1553.

¹² Vol. II, p. 45; published by the State of New York; Albany, 1842.

¹³ Now called Queenstown, in the County of Cork.

tain Thompson said: "The report in Ireland was that these troops had been wrote for by persons here. The troops in general disliked the service; some officers had sold out; the people in Ireland in general are well affected to the Americans and are averse to the Americans being taxed by the Parliament of Great Britain."

The *New York Royal Gazette* of January 3, 1778, published "an extract from a letter from Carlow in Ireland," saying that "four regiments of Roman Catholics will be immediately raised here for the American service, and it is the general opinion that they will be raised in a few weeks"; but in a later issue of the paper the editor announced "with regret" the abandonment of the attempt to raise these troops in Ireland. We have still another important witness on this point in the person of the famous Horace Walpole, who recorded in his *Last Journals*, under date of August, 1775: "The government could not get above four hundred recruits and failed in their attempt to raise a regiment of Roman Catholics." And Lecky states: "Recruiting agents traversed the Highlands of Scotland and the most remote districts of Ireland, and the poor Catholics of Munster and Connaught were gladly welcomed. Recruits, however, came in very slowly. There was no enthusiasm for a war with the English settlers."¹⁴ The efforts of government failing to obtain recruits, the British government seems to have resorted to the forlorn expedient of procuring the services of Irish officers in the French and Austrian armies to come to Ireland to try and persuade their refractory countrymen to en-

¹⁴ *History of England*, Vol. III, p. 457.

disgraceful and so dangerous.—Never did the recruiting parties meet with such ill success in every part of this kingdom as at present ; to invincible is the dislike of all ranks of people to the American service. The inhabitants of Bandon, Youg-hall, Birr, and other towns, have entered into a resolution not to suffer any among them to enlist for the purpose of enslaving their American brethren. There have been no less than five parties at once in Charleville, and after stunning the town, God knows how long, with their fifes and drums, they were able to pick up only one recruit, who was under Mr. Roberts's influence. Though the principal Romanists in Cork and Limerick have formed Associations and offered bounties to such recruits as shall enlist on this occasion, yet have they very little success ; for though the heads of that communion are in the interest of government, the lower class, who have not sagacity enough to make proper distinctions, are, to a man, attached to the Americans, and say plainly, the Irish ought to follow their example. Even Lord Kenmare, who on this occasion took the lead, had his recruiting party severely beaten in Tralee, and their drum broke to pieces. The renowned Captain Harlequin, whose success in this town last war has encouraged him to renew his antic tricks here now, finds himself, with all his buffoonry, sadly disappointed, and several of those he had trepanned have already deserted. Many of the draughts that are come here to fill up the regiments ordered abroad, swear they will never draw a trigger against the Americans ; among whom they have all relations. And most of the English and Irish soldiers that left this last April and May expressed so much repugnance to the service they were ordered on, that I am fully persuaded, if your army was not shut up in Boston, it must suffer exceedingly by desertion.

REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

FACSIMILE OF A LETTER FROM CORK, PUBLISHED
IN THE PENNSYLVANIA PACKET OF NOVEMBER 27, 1775.

list. "The safety of the State depends upon two measures," wrote Attorney-General Wedderburn to William Eden in 1778,—one of them "a strong levy of Irish Catholics under French and Austrian officers,"—but there is no evidence that even this attempt met with any success.

But on this point the most remarkable testimony of all is found in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of November 27, 1775. On the 15th of that month a schooner named *The Two Sisters*, commanded by Captain Robbins, bound from Ireland to Boston, was seized by a privateer in the service of the United Colonies and taken into Beverly, Massachusetts. The account of the capture published in the *New York Journal or General Advertiser* of November 23, 1775, said that "Captain Robbins left Ireland September 24th and brought papers to the 16th of September, also the King's Proclamation declaring the Colonists rebels. Captain Robbins says the common people of Ireland were almost unanimous in favor of the Americans, and that only those dependent on Government appeared against us." Among the papers seized on *The Two Sisters* were a number of letters from army officers in Ireland to their friends in Boston. These letters were at once sent to the Congress at Philadelphia and were printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of November 27th, accompanied by a statement signed by Secretary Charles Thomson, to the effect that they were "published by order of the Congress." One of these letters dated "Corke, September 8th, 1775" read as follows:

"People are much divided in their sentiments about the Americans; placemen, pensioners, Tories and Jacobites, with some stupid, ignorant and mercenary Whigs, are violent against them, but the bulk of the people are strongly in their interest."

Referring to the attempts to raise troops in Ireland, the writer said:

"Never did the recruiting parties meet with such ill success in every part of this Kingdom as at present; so invincible is the dislike of all ranks of people to the American service. The inhabitants of Bandon, Youghall, Birr and other towns have entered into a resolution not to suffer any among them to enlist for the purpose of enslaving their American Brethren. There have been no less than five parties at once in Charleville, and after stunning the Town, God knows how long, with their fifes and drums, they were able to pick up only one recruit, who was under Mr. Roberts' influence. Though the principal Romanists in Corke and Limerick have formed Associations and offered bounties to such recruits as shall list on this occasion, yet they have very little success; for though the heads of that communion are in the interest of government, the lower class, who have not sagacity enough to make proper distinctions, are, to a man, attached to the Americans, and say plainly the Irish ought to follow their example. Even Lord Kenmare, who on this occasion took the lead, had his recruiting party severely beat up in Tralee, and their drums broken to pieces. The renowned Captain Harlequin, whose success in this Town last war has encouraged him to renew his antic tricks here now, finds himself, with all his buffoonery, sadly disappointed, and several of those he had trepanned have already deserted. Many of the draughts that have come here to fill up the regiments ordered abroad, swear they will never draw a trigger against the Americans, among whom they all have relations. And most of the English and Irish soldiers that left this, last April and May, expressed so much repugnance to the service they were ordered on that I am fully persuaded if your army was not shut up in Boston, it must suffer severely by desertion."

The writer of this letter was surely a prophet, for events proved that many of the Irish soldiers in English regiments did desert and went over to the Americans, and this is shown by the repeated advertisements printed in the New York newspapers of the year 1776 from regimental and company commanders offering rewards for the capture of deserters. Descriptions were given in these advertisements of the personal appearance of the men, and in most cases their nativity was stated, and a large proportion of these were said to be "natives of Ireland." General Howe wrote the Earl of Dartmouth from Boston on November 26, 1775, sending him an estimate of the number of recruits which he would need in the following spring, but stating that if these recruits were "chiefly composed of Irish Roman Catholics, they are certain to desert if put to hard work."¹⁵ This is also shown by a letter dated September 5, 1779, to General Cleveland from General Pattison, commandant of the Royal Artillery, in which he said: "I must desire that no Partys may be sent to Ireland to recruit for my Battalion. I have more already than I could wish from that country, and I am informed by Captain Chapman that forty-nine of the men enlisted there have deserted."¹⁶ The *Royal Gazette* of October 18, 1780, contained a proclamation from General Sir Henry Clinton about "the several deserters from the British and Foreign Troops under my Command

¹⁵ *American Archives*, 4th Ser., Vol. III, p. 1673.

¹⁶ New York Historical Society Collections, year 1875, p. 105; see also references to the Irish "who deserted to the rebels" at page 190.

who are serving with the Enemy or are concealed in the rebel Country," and he offered them "a free and unlimited pardon" on their return. Among these deserters he mentioned "Daniel McCarty, a native of Ireland"; "James Torren, a native of Ireland"; "Hugh McQuaid, born in County Down, Ireland"; "Thomas Hynes, born in the Province of Munster in Ireland, and Bryan Conner, born in the Province of Leinster in Ireland"; "John Gilly, John Kennedy, Daniel Denhany and William Ross," all "born in Cork"; "Richard Shay, James McMunnigan, James Doherty, Jerry Fahane, David Crowley, John Murphy, John Collins, William Finley, and Edmund Ryan."

There were numerous other similar instances, and these individual cases are pointed out merely to illustrate the statement that Irish soldiers in England's army had no heart in the fight against American liberty, and that many of them took advantage of their opportunities to "desert to the enemy."

From the regretful tone of the letter above quoted, as to the failure of the Irish to enlist to fight the Americans, it is quite clear that the writer was one of that class known in Ireland as "shoneens" and was himself a supporter of the government, which is all the more reason for accepting it as a truthful account of the situation. His reference to "the principal Romanists of Cork and Limerick" having formed associations and offered bounties to enlist, is verified to some extent by other newspaper accounts, although why the writer referred to them as "the principal Romanists" is very much of a mystery. A small coterie of Irish Catholic landlords

seeking the favor of the King, representing nobody but themselves, but deriving energy from the impudent assertion that they reflected the sentiment of the entire population of Ireland, sought to persuade their countrymen to enlist for the American service. This precious band of "anti-Irish Irishmen" were headed by Lord Kenmare. How successful was this craven element in their attempts to seduce Irishmen to fight against their own countrymen who had taken their stand by the side of their fellow Colonists, is seen from the results of the efforts of Lord Cahir, who "offered Administration to raise three thousand Irish Roman Catholics to support their plan against the Americans."¹⁷ As in the case of Lord Kenmare, referred to in the letter above quoted, the hopes of "the noble lord" from the beginning were doomed to failure, and there is no record whatever of the existence of such troops.¹⁸

To explain this more clearly. It had been the common custom, when soldiers were wanted in Ireland for the English service, to commission the great landed proprietors to raise them among their tenants and laborers. They sent their agents among the farmers and through the villages offering bounties for recruits, and in the case of the laboring and artisan classes, where they were in any way dependent upon the landlords for employment and they refused to enlist, the landlords

¹⁷ *New York Journal or General Advertiser*, October 12, 1775.

¹⁸ The Earl of Kenmare and the Earl of Cahir both offered "a bounty of a half guinea to all volunteers enlisting with Major Roche," but when this Major Roche tried to raise recruits in Cork he was "driven from the City by an angry mob." He received no better treatment in Limerick.

discharged them from their employ. Arthur Young, an English scientist and agriculturist, who made a tour through Ireland in the years 1776 to 1779, paints a frightful picture of the misery of the small Irish tenant-farmers and of the slavishness of the poorer classes dependent for support on the word of the bailiff or the land agent. "A landlord of an Irish estate inhabited by Roman Catholics," says Young, "is a sort of despot who yields obedience, in whatever concerns the poor, to no law but that of his own will. He can scarcely invent an order which a servant-labourer or cottar dares to refuse to execute. A long series of oppressions, aided by many very ill-judged laws, have brought the landlords into a habit of exerting a very lofty superiority, and their vassals into that of an almost unlimited submission."¹⁹ On this occasion the landlords caused the most strenuous and unscrupulous efforts to be made to secure recruits, and even formed "press-gangs" of their own, who forcibly dragged out of their beds at night the young Irishmen who had not fled to the hills, and brought them, "bound hand and foot," to the military depots, where they were kept in close confinement until the agents were ready to ship them off like cattle to the seaport towns.²⁰

In September, 1775, a committee of landlords had the

¹⁹ *A Tour in Ireland, with General Observations upon the Present State of that Kingdom, made in the years 1776, 1777, 1778, and 1779, Part II, p. 29; London, 1780.*

²⁰ Lecky says: "Recruits in Ireland came in very slowly, for there was no enthusiasm in Ireland for the war," and "the press-gangs met with an unusual resistance." (*The American Revolution*, p. 242.)

audacity to say, in an address to the King: "We humbly presume to lay at your feet two millions of loyal, faithful, and affectionate hearts and hands, zealous, ready, and desirous to exert themselves strenuously in defence of your Majesty's most sacred Person and Government." They described "the Loyalty of the Irish Catholics" as "unanimous, constant, and unalterable," which sentiments "they well knew to be those of all their fellow Roman Catholic Irish subjects." And notwithstanding the record of the Irish, known to all the world, and their age-long fight against English oppression, Bancroft and other historians have allowed themselves to be entrapped by such extravagant and false assertions!

CHAPTER IV

EFFORTS TO CONCILIATE THE IRISH CATHOLICS

Horace Walpole's *Last Journals*. Silas Deane's interesting suggestion. Extracts from speeches in the English Parliament. Funds collected in Ireland for the American patriots. The people of Cork sent provisions and clothing for Washington's army. The "Society of Free Citizens" of Dublin applaud the Americans. Testimony of Plowden and Barrington. "All Ireland America-mad." Powder shipped from Ireland to America.

THAT the sympathies of the Irish, Catholic as well as Protestant, were almost wholly inclined toward the Americans, especially after they had proclaimed the principle of "no taxation without representation," which so aptly described the situation in Ireland, is admitted by an English historian. As stated by Amherst, "Lord North was anxious to conciliate the Irish Catholics in order to unite the subjects of the King in Great Britain and Ireland and because he saw that the maxims of government, especially the one which was so loudly proclaimed in America, 'no representation, no taxation,' applied rather awkwardly to the state of things on the other side of Saint George's Channel. . . . It became, therefore, a matter of policy to conciliate Ireland in order to promote union at home, draw off the sympathy of the Irish for the Americans, and make the Irish more inclined to enlist in the regiments which it would

be necessary to send across the Atlantic.”¹ Plowden verifies this when he says: “The British Minister sent positive orders that some Act of Legislature should be passed in that session of conciliatory tendency to the Catholics, and accordingly the Catholic Relief Act was brought in and passed both Houses without opposition.” How the Irish Catholics viewed the “favours of Government,” in its efforts to induce them to enlist to fight the Americans, is seen from the evidence already quoted.

“It is certain that the Irish Roman Catholics cannot be tempted into the service,” says a statement in *American Archives*,² and Horace Walpole wrote in his *Last Journals*³ that “the Government declined an offer made to them for raising Highland regiments, but attempted to raise a regiment of Irish Catholics, but these would not enlist, nor could they in the whole summer get above four hundred recruits in England.”

As to the racial composition of the regiments sent from Ireland to America, I question very much that they were comprised wholly of Irishmen, or that they were recruited only in Ireland. American newspapers contain several despatches from London indicating that among the twenty regiments in Ireland at the beginning of the war, there were English and Scotch as well as Irish troops, and in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of June 19, 1776, there is a despatch from London, under the

¹ Amherst, *History of Catholic Emancipation*, p. 52. This subject is also dealt with in Wilfred Ward's *Life of Cardinal Wiseman* and in Fagan's *Life and Times of Daniel O'Connell*.

² 4th Ser., Vol. IV, p. 368.

³ Vol. I, p. 472.

head of "House of Commons, March 26th," reading: "On the 17th inst. six sail of ships from Glasgow, with new raised recruits, and several transports from London, arrived at Cork, where they are to take in their lading of provisions and proceed to America under convoy." This is quoted as a sample of several similar accounts about the same time, but the fact that they "came from Ireland" did not by any means make these soldiers "Irishmen," as some historians seem to think.

In the same paper of May 31, 1775, I find an "address sent to Ireland for publication among the soldiers" in March of that year, which appealed to "the glory of British soldiers," saying "you are about to embark for America to compel your fellow-subjects to submit to Popery and slavery." This address ridiculed a former "attempt of King James to introduce the Roman Catholic religion into Great Britain"; told how English soldiers then "rebelled against the King," adding that "you gentlemen will soon have an opportunity of showing equal virtue by fighting against the establishment of Popery in America." Can any sane person imagine the foolhardiness of distributing such a document among Irish Catholic soldiers? And, why, if Irish Catholics were so eager, as historians assert, to enlist for the American war, did Silas Deane suggest "that some Priests be sent among the Irish 'Whiteboys' to embarrass the English,"⁴ for it must be assumed that

⁴ Deane Papers in New York Historical Society Collections, Vol. I, p. 396. See also Wharton's *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution*, Vol. II, p. 213.

Deane considered them friendly to the American cause when he made such a suggestion?

That great national monument, the *American Archives*, compiled by Peter Force, the first of all students of our Revolutionary annals, furnishes much corroborative testimony. In a report of the debates in the English House of Commons on October 26, 1775, upon the "Speech from the Throne" relating to the American situation, a speech delivered by Governor George Johnstone is printed in full. In dilating upon "the universal report and opinion of all men with whom I have conversed from America," Johnstone said: "If any one disputes the truth of my assertions, I now defy him to bring any evidence to contradict me, and I now undertake to bring men of the best characters in support of what I aver. But, respecting general opinion, I shall go further. I maintain . . . that *three to one in Ireland are on the side of the Americans*, that soldiers and sailors feel such an unwillingness to the service that you will never find the same exertions in spirit in this as in other wars."⁵ In the debates in Parliament on November 8, 1775, on objection being raised to Ireland contributing to the war, an Irish member exclaimed: "Let the American war cost what it will, Ireland should never be called upon to contribute a shilling toward defraying the expense."⁶ The Duke of Richmond said on that occasion: "Attempts have been made to enlist the Irish Roman Catholicks, but the Min-

⁵ *American Archives*, 4th Ser., Vol. VI, p. 31. See also *Parliamentary Register*, Vol. III, p. 25.

⁶ *American Archives*, 4th Ser., Vol. VI, p. 131.

istry know well that these attempts have proved unsuccessful,"⁷ all of which verified a "letter from Dublin," dated August 12, 1775, and published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of October 18th, which stated that "the regiments ordered abroad, which are to be augmented to seven hundred rank and file, with difficulty list a man, which is strange considering the prospect of preferment that the American war presents to them." And the same letter refers to "a sloop from Dublin bound to Cork, with twenty-two recruits for the American service, put into Wicklow by stress of weather, where one-half of them deserted." The *Providence* (Rhode Island) *Gazette*, in its issue of February 24, 1776, announced "the arrival from Ireland, but last from Barbadoes, of the sloop *New York Packet*, Captain John Freers, who informs that the people in Ireland and Barbadoes are very warm in the cause of America." The same sentiment prevailed all over Ireland, and in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of April 29, 1776, the news from Providence said: "Captain Cook from Belfast informs that recruiting parties had been beating up there from September till January, to reinforce the Ministerial army in America, but that they had only enlisted ten men."

The attitude of the Irish people on this question was manifested in many ways. On the outbreak of the war, "the inhabitants of Belfast were the very first European community that gave open expression to their good wishes for the American cause. Public meetings were held throughout the country to encourage the 'rans-

⁷ *American Archives*, 4th Ser., Vol. VI, p. 131.

atlantic resistance, and as the contest went on, Ireland, catching inspiration from the example of the New World, took that noble attitude of resistance which gained for her, in 1782, under the guidance of Grattan and his patriot associates, the legislative and commercial independence which was destined to so short a life.”⁸ Mooney declares that “meetings were held in many parts of Ireland to cheer on the Americans,” and at meetings in Belfast approving of the resistance of the Colonists, “funds were collected and sent to the American patriots.”⁹ “The people of Cork sent a vessel with provisions and clothing for Washington’s army, which vessel got safely into Boston.”¹⁰ And in the Irish capital, to the intense alarm of the government, the Common Council in August, 1775, voted the thanks of the city to Lord Effingham “for having thrown up his commission in the army rather than draw his sword against the Americans.”¹¹

In the *Pennsylvania Packet* of October 9, 1775, there is an account, dated “Dublin, July 19th,” of a public dinner given by the “Society of Free Citizens,” presided over by James Napper Tandy, afterward one of the devoted leaders of the people in the Rebellion of 1798, and among the toasts drunk on that occasion we find such sentiments as these: “Prosperity to Ireland, and may it never submit to be taxed by the British Parlia-

⁸ “The Irish in America,” by James Boyd, in *North American Review*, January, 1841.

⁹ *History of Ireland*, by Thomas Mooney, p. 827; Boston, 1845.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 831.

¹¹ Force’s *American Archives*.

ment." "Our fellow-subjects in America, now suffering persecution for attempting to assert their rights and liberties." "The Continental Congress—unanimity to their councils and success to their resolves." "The 19th of April, 1775, and the memory of the brave Americans who fell in defending the liberties of their country."

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of August 16, 1775, contains an "extract of a letter from Dublin," saying that "the Post Assembly, which is to be held tomorrow for the purpose of considering an Address to the King on behalf of our oppressed American brethren, is likely to be the fullest meeting ever known." The *Pennsylvania Evening Post* of November 9, 1775, published an account of a meeting of the "Post Assembly" at Dublin on August 28th, comprised of the "Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons and Citizens," sympathizing with "the injured inhabitants of that continent [America]," for whom they felt "the most poignant grief," and deprecating the action of the government in sending "our brave countrymen on the unnatural errand of killing their fellow-subjects." And an article in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of October 30, 1776, contained a despatch from Dublin, dated July 29th, saying: "We hear that instructions from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty of Great Britain arrived here by the last packet for the condemnation of all American ships and merchandise, that may be taken by any ship of war or privateer, and brought into any port of this Kingdom, and confiscating the same as lawful prizes. It is not doubted but that many spirited merchants will fit out cruizers, to enrich themselves at the expense of our

rebellious subjects, notwithstanding the prevailing factious disposition of too many in Ireland who seem to wish success to the arms of their transatlantic friends. We also hear, in expectation of this event, the free citizens and other patriotic societies in Dublin are raising subscriptions for the use of such American crews as shall be confined in the gaols of this Kingdom, as they happen to be brought in."

It is incidents like these, recorded by men who were actual observers of or participants in the affairs of the time, that reflect the true conditions, not the ex-parte statements of historians who wrote without full knowledge of the facts or whose work was tinged by religious or racial prejudices. Walpole recorded in his *Last Journals*¹² that after "the Guild of Merchants at Dublin thanked Wilkes, Lord Effingham, and the English Peers who opposed the American War, . . . a remonstrance was sent to the King against the war by the Common Council of Dublin." And "the great Horace" also recorded, under date of June, 1776, that "the Irish Parliament having expired, there were great contests at the new elections, and the American war was so unpopular in that country, that the Court met with sturdy opposition."¹³ And Plowden, the English historian, relates how "the Irish sympathized with the American ideas of freedom," and that "the government was seriously alarmed at the light in which the American struggle was viewed in Ireland."

Sir Jonah Barrington, one of the leading members

¹² Under date of August and September, 1775.

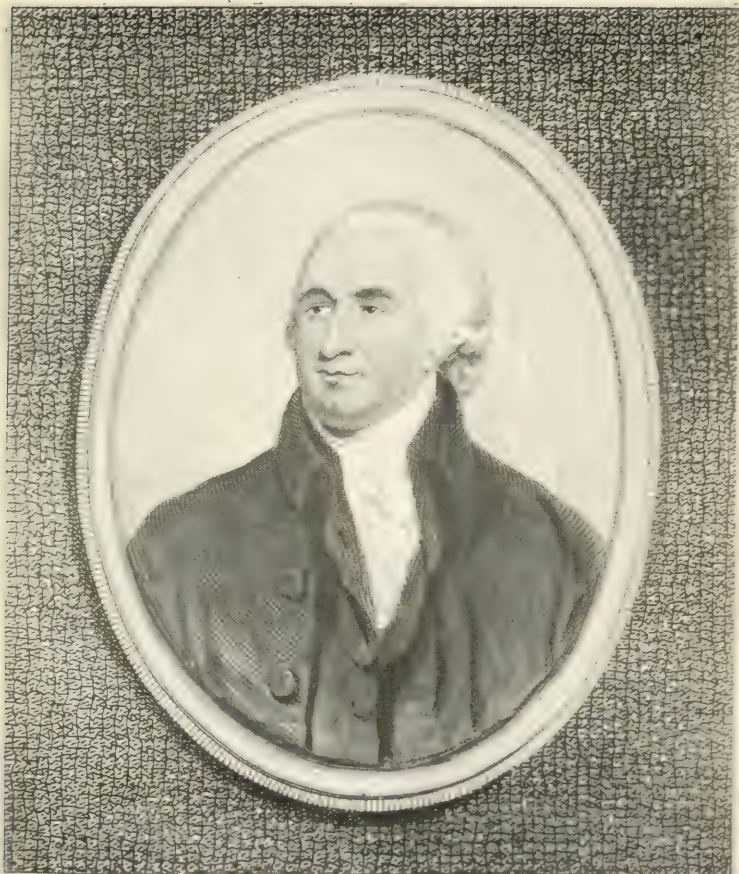
¹³ Walpole's *Last Journals*, Vol. II, p. 562.

of the Irish Parliament during the period of the American Revolution, in referring to the depressed condition of Ireland resulting from the operation of the penal statutes, shows in the following words how Ireland was affected by the American uprising: "The spirit of independence had crossed the Atlantic, and the Irish people, awakened from a trance, beheld with anxiety the contest in which they now began to feel an interest. They regarded with admiration the exertions of a colony combating for the first principles of civil liberty and giving to the world an instructive lesson of fortitude and perseverance. . . . Ireland became every day a more anxious spectator of the arduous conflict; every incident in America began to communicate a sympathetic impulse to the Irish people."¹⁴

The numerous sources from which I have gathered information on this point indicate, without the shadow of a doubt, that from the moment the news of the revolt in America reached Ireland, that country was seething with enthusiasm, and when the "Address to the People of Ireland" was received from the American Congress we are told "the attention of the country was still more strongly aroused." "All Ireland is America-mad," wrote Horace Walpole to the Countess of Upper Ossory on June 25, 1776.¹⁵ And notwithstanding the fact that Ireland was suffering greatly in her trade by the stoppage of imports from the Colonies, her sympathy for America was maintained throughout the struggle.

¹⁴ *Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*, p. 31; New York, n.d.

¹⁵ *Letters of Horace Walpole, Fourth Earl of Orford*, Toynbee ed., Vol. IX, p. 380; Oxford, 1859.



REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

JAMES DUANE

MEMBER OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, SON OF ANTHONY DUANE
OF COUNTY GALWAY, IRELAND.

John Mitchel says: "Nine-tenths of the people of Ireland regarded the American cause to be Ireland's own cause," for "the very strong analogy which existed between the American Colonies and the Irish was quite sufficient to occasion in the latter country not only an intense interest, but a deep sympathy also in the American struggle."¹⁶

It is very evident that sympathy for the Americans prevailed among all classes in Ireland except the landlords and their agents and those in government employ. And it was no mere lip service that they rendered to the American Revolutionists, for they gave earnest of their sincerity by committing themselves to such acts of unneutrality as the harboring and protection of American privateers, the succoring of American prisoners of war, and the sale and shipment of supplies of powder and other warlike stores while the Revolution was at its height and when such acts were considered high treason to England.

In the *Minutes of the Committee of Safety of the Province of New York*,¹⁷ under date of January 4, 1776, I find this entry: "Mr. Thomas McFarran attending was called in. The Committee conversed with him on the subject of shipping flaxseed to Ireland to obtain gunpowder. Thereupon, a draft of a letter to the Continental Congress was read and approved of." This letter stated that the committee had "engaged two vessels to despatch with produce to Europe for the purpose

¹⁶ *History of Ireland*, pp. 112. 119; Glasgow, 1866.

¹⁷ Vol. I, p. 236. Published by the State of New York; Albany, 1842.

of procuring arms and ammunition. . . . As our safety depends upon the country being well supplied with powder, we submit it to you whether the sense of Congress should not be taken without delay, on our exporting two cargoes of flaxseed to purchase powder. The measure recommends itself by several considerations; there is the highest probability of procuring powder in Ireland at a moderate price." It would appear also from communications which passed between Marquis de Noailles, the French Ambassador to England, and Count de Vergennes,¹⁸ French Minister of Foreign Affairs, that shipments openly went from Irish to French ports and that they were reshipped to the "Island of Martinico" (Martinique), whence they reached America, and undoubtedly were intended for the use of the Continental army.

So bitter were the patriots in Ireland against the British government that they sought by every means in their power to injure British trade by the application of the "boycott." In April, 1779, a great meeting was held in Dublin at which the people pledged themselves "not to purchase any goods manufactured in England," and Lord Buckingham, the Viceroy, when reporting this meeting to the English Ministry on April 29, 1779, said: "It concerns me greatly to mention that the discontent of this kingdom seems increasing, fomented, I apprehend, by French and American emissaries." "The Irish have entered into combinations against purchasing English goods," wrote Horace Walpole to Horace

¹⁸ Letters in Stevens' *Facsimile Documents in European Archives Relating to America, 1773-1783*.

Mann on May 9, 1779;¹⁹ and on June 16, 1779, in a letter to Henry Seymour Conway, he expressed "the fear that the Irish will be tempted to unite with America, which will throw all that trade into their convenient harbours."²⁰

¹⁹ *Letters of Horace Walpole, Fourth Earl of Orford*, Toynbee ed., Vol. X, p. 408; London, 1859.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER V

HISTORY BY SUPPRESSION

Army supplies destroyed in Ireland. American privateers succored in Irish harbors. Protest in the English Parliament against shipments of firearms and ammunition from Dublin to America. Ethan Allen's *Narrative*. His treatment by the citizens of Cork and Dublin an index to Irish feeling.

ON several occasions when the commissary officers of the regiments about to embark from Cork purchased supplies, the consignments were seized and destroyed by the angry populace.¹ A concrete instance of this was an incident reported in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of November 12, 1776, to this effect: "A private letter from Cork by the *Endeavour* arrived on Wednesday in the river, the Master of which reported that a large body of people on horseback attacked several carriages which were coming to that place with provisions for the government ships, that they took all the horses out, and afterwards the provisions, sent the drivers back with the horses to tell their owners that if they ever met with them again carrying provisions off, they would murder them and their horses. They then set fire to the carriages and burnt them to ashes."

What a contrast was this with the manner in which

¹ Arthur Young, in his *Tour in Ireland*, says that "when one Abraham Lane established a large manufactory for army clothing and shoes at Cork in 1777, it was burned down by a mob."

the officers of American privateers which put into Irish harbors were received by the people, for so strong was the sentiment in favor of the Americans that in several Irish seaport towns the people afforded shelter and furnished supplies to American privateers. In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of March 5, 1777, I find a despatch from Dublin under date of October 19, 1776, to the effect that "an American privateer had anchored in the harbour of Newry, and demanded provisions, for which payment was offered"; and in the same issue of the paper there appeared an account from New London, Connecticut, dated February 13, 1777, that "Captain Salter who came out of Ireland informs that the American privateer which put into Newry (as mentioned under the Dublin head) shipped a number of hands there, and that the Irish are universally in favour of the Americans, except a few placemen." A letter from Galway, Ireland, published in the *Gazette* of June 18, 1777, said: "Two American privateers put in here to procure some fresh water and provisions. On being supplied with such provisions as they wanted, for which they paid in dollars, they weighed anchor and sailed, after being in the bay only twenty-four hours." And in the London news in the *Gazette* of May 14, 1777, there appeared a "Letter from Limerick, January 31st, 1777," to the effect that "a large American privateer put into the River Shannon and sent a boat on shore to procure some fresh provisions and fresh water, which they were readily supplied with, but sent the commanding officer word that his stay there might be disagreeable, as some men of war from England were hourly expected

there, upon which the Captain of the privateer weighed anchor and sailed away." From England's point of view, this action was nothing short of high treason, yet the authorities of the city of Limerick were willing to run the risk of imprisonment and perhaps execution in order to aid the American sailors. To appreciate fully the risks incurred in thus giving "aid and comfort to the enemy" we must bear in mind that the English charged the American privateers with "piracy," and that the government warned the authorities of all Irish seaport towns that they should be treated accordingly and that they "should commit to prison any persons suspected of favouring America."²

It is reasonable also to assume that on these occasions Irish sailors willingly joined the crews of American privateers, which were not always fully manned, and we have circumstantial evidence of this in a report dated March 27-28, 1777, relative to "American affairs," from Lieutenant-Colonel Smith³ to his superiors at London, in which he said that the success of the American naval commander, Captain Lambert Wickes, in the Irish Channel, "induced the Irish and French to enter readily into any armed vessel against our Trade, so that numbers of them will never be wanting to equip anything Franklin may wish to put to sea."⁴

During the war merchants in Dublin carried on an illicit trade with American ports, and in their trading with the West Indies they adopted every pretext to

² Wharton's *Diplomatic Correspondence*, Vol. III, p. 394.

³ Smith was employed as a spy.

⁴ Document No. 670 in Stevens' *Facsimiles*.

carry stores to America. In a speech in the House of Commons on February 17, 1777, on a bill for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, Colonel Luttrell declared that "a ship loaded with fire-arms, warlike stores, and ammunition of all kinds, intended for America, was seized in the port of Dublin. The merchants who were the owners of the stores, and the actors in this treasonable transaction, were apprehended. Yet the traitors were bailed and permitted to escape with impunity. He wished sincerely, if they had not escaped beyond the reach of justice, that this bill might take cognizance of their crimes, and that they might meet that exemplary and condign punishment which they manifestly merited."⁵ But in March, 1780, Ireland's demand for free and unrestricted commerce with America and the West Indies was granted by the British Parliament, and the acts which prohibited carrying gold and silver coin into Ireland were repealed in the same year. Irish merchants immediately took advantage of the situation, and thereafter the American agents procured considerable quantities of powder in Ireland; indeed, so brisk did this trade become, and so openly was it carried on, that English war-ships were sent to patrol the coasts of Ireland, and in the newspapers of the time several instances are narrated of the capture of valuable cargoes from Irish ports destined for "the American rebels."

The attitude of the Irish people toward the Americans is well illustrated by an incident related in a letter from Cork, published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of May 5, 1776. This letter reads in part:

⁵ *Parliamentary Register*, Vol. VI, p. 253.

"The following occurrence must give satisfaction to the friends of suffering America. When Colonel Ethan Allen, with about fifty other prisoners, arrived in the *Solebay*, two gentlemen went on board to enquire into their situation and to assure them of the disposition of several gentlemen in this City to alleviate their distress. Colonel Allen was so affected with this instance of unexpected generosity, that the expression of his gratitude could hardly find utterance. His treatment on board the *Solebay* is far different from the barbarous and cruel usage he experienced in his passage from Quebec, being then handcuffed and ironed in the most dreary part of the vessel, and basely insulted with cruel and unmanly reflections by some officers of the ship, whom he challenged in Cornwall, without receiving any satisfaction. A subscription was begun this morning among some friends of the cause and near fifty guineas collected to buy clothes for his men and necessaries for himself, and if liberty can be got of Captain Williams to put live stock on board, I can assure you Colonel Allen will be exceedingly well provided. We this day sent a hamper of wine, sugar, fruit, chocolate, etc., on board for his immediate use, and to-morrow intend to prepare the sundry articles of which he sent a list. I enclose a rough copy of his answer to our letter. Should he have permission to come on shore, he will be entertained by some of the first gentlemen of this City. I have not been refused by a single person on the subscription."

Colonel Allen's response is as follows:

"Gentlemen:

"I received your generous present this day, with a joyful heart. Thanks to God, there are still the feelings of humanity in the worthy citizens of Cork towards those of your bone and your flesh, who through misfortune from the present broils in the empire, are needy prisoners.

"Dated Cove, January 24, 1776.

E. ALLEN."

The sympathy and good will which Ethan Allen experienced in Cork and in other places from Irishmen is not in the least surprising, for it is one of the holiest traditions of the Irish race to lend a helping hand to all

who are under the lash of tyranny. The city of Cork, in 1776, only repeated the action of the people of the capital city of Ireland one hundred years before, when they alone, of all Europeans, sent a ship-load of provisions to the famishing Colonists of New England in 1676. This is known in history as "The Irish Donation." Allen himself related the incident referred to in the letter just quoted in the narrative of his captivity, and as this fact receives no mention from American historians, I quote here Allen's own words: ⁶

"It was soon rumoured in Cork that I was on board the *Solebay*, with a number of prisoners from America, upon which Messrs. Clark & Hayes, merchants in company, and a number of other benevolently disposed gentlemen, contributed largely to the relief and support of the prisoners, who were in very needy circumstances. Each man had bestowed on him a suit of clothes from head to foot, including an overcoat and two shirts."

The gifts which he himself received were:

"Superfine broadcloths, sufficient for two jackets and two pair of breeches, overplus of a suit throughout, eight fine holland shirts and stocks ready made, with a number of pairs of silk and worsted hose, two pairs of shoes, two beaver hats, one of which was sent richly laced with gold, by Mr. James Bonwell. . . . The Irish gentlemen, furthermore, made a large gratuity of wines of the best sort, old spirits, Geneva loaf and brown sugar, coffee, tea and chocolate, with a large round of pickled beef, and a number of fat turkies, with many other articles for my sea stores, too tedious to mention here.

"As this munificence was so unexpected, plentiful, and, I may

⁶ From *A Narrative of the Captivity of Colonel Ethan Allen, from the time of his being taken by the British, near Montreal, on the 25th day of September, 1775, to the time of his exchange, on the 6th day of May, 1778, written by himself and published at Burlington, Vermont, in 1779.*

add, needful, it impressed on my mind the highest sense of gratitude towards my benefactors; for I was not only supplied with necessities and conveniences of life, but with the grandeurs and superfluities of it. Mr. Hayes, one of the donators before mentioned, came on board, and behaved in the most obliging manner, telling me that he hoped my troubles were past: for that the gentlemen of Cork determined to make my sea stores equal to that of the Captain of the *Solebay's*. He made an offer of live stock and wherewith to support them; but I knew this would be denied. And to crown all, did send me by another person fifty guineas, but I could not reconcile receiving the whole to my own feelings, as it might have the appearance of avarice; and, therefore, received but seven guineas only, and am confident, not only from the exercise of the present well-timed generosity, but from a large acquaintance with gentlemen of this nation, that as a people they excel in liberality and bravery.

"All of the provisions were conveyed on board during the absence of the captain and by the connivance of a friendly lieutenant. . . ."

He goes on to relate:

"Two days after the receipt of the aforesaid donations, Captain Symonds came on board, full of envy towards the prisoners, and swore by all that is good, that the damned American rebels should not be feasted at this rate by the damned rebels of Ireland. He, therefore, took away all my liquors before mentioned, and all the tea and sugar, except some wine, which was secreted, and confiscated them to the use of the ship's crew.

"Soon after this there came a boat to the side of the ship, and Captain Symonds asked a gentleman who was in it, in my hearing, what his business was. He answered that he was sent to deliver some sea stores to Colonel Allen, which, if I remember right, he said were sent from Dublin; but the captain damned him very heartily, ordered him away from the ship, and would not suffer him to deliver the stores. I was further informed that the gentlemen in Cork requested of Captain Symonds that I might be allowed to come into the City, and that they would be responsible I should return to the frigate at a given time, which was denied them.

"We sailed from the Cove of Cork on the 12th of February, the

prisoners having been distributed among the different war ships. The fleet consisted of forty-five sail, carrying several thousand troops, and their destination was the American coast. When we had reached Madeira and anchored, sundry gentlemen, with the captain, went on shore, who, I conclude, gave the rumor that I was in the frigate, upon which I soon after found Irish generosity was again excited, for a gentleman of that nation sent his clark on board, to know of me if I would accept a sea store from him, particularly of wine.”⁷

And so the evidence accumulates, for much more of the same character can be adduced, and from sources just as trustworthy as those here quoted. I submit that contemporary accounts such as those here presented are far more worthy of credence than the theories of historians, unsupported by facts or by any reasonable evidence as to their historic truth. Bancroft's method of treating the subject cannot but be regarded as exhibiting the case under a deceptive aspect; and as he selected the people of Ireland alone as the object of his abuse, it is evident that he had some ulterior purpose in so doing. His statements are impugned by the unimpeachable records of the time, and as all of these must have been accessible to the historian, it seems only fair to assume that he deliberately suppressed “the evidence in the case.” From this “sin of omission” we see no way of exculpating him, nor can we regard as unprejudiced those other historians who have denied to the Irish in America the glory of the part they played in the War of the Revolution.

⁷ The *Diary of John Adams* also mentions the hospitable treatment he received in Spain from two Irish merchants located in one of its maritime cities.

CHAPTER VI

IRELAND'S SHARE IN AMERICA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

The proportion of Irish soldiers in the Army of the Revolution. Statements of Galloway, Robertson, Clinton, and other English officers. Parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of the war. Galloway's interesting testimony. "Deserters" from the American army. How the term "deserter" is misunderstood.

IF a tabulation could be made showing the number of soldiers of Irish birth or descent who enlisted in the patriot army, and a comparison of the same were made with the other racial elements represented on the muster-rolls, it would form a much more striking and convincing exhibit of the contribution of the Irish to the achievement of American independence than all the literature that has been printed on the subject. But even if it be now impracticable to obtain exact data for the compilation of such figures, there is sufficient material available to enable us to form an estimate, with reasonable accuracy, of the importance of that contribution. There are many sources from which much interesting and reliable information on this question can be procured, but none furnish it with so much "silent eloquence" as the letters from the English military commanders in America to their superiors in England, the rosters of the American regiments, and other official papers of the Revolutionary period that have been

published by the different States, in addition to which we also obtain occasional glimpses of the activities of the Irish from local town and county histories and the publications of historical societies.

For many years there have been "going the rounds" vague references to a statement said to have been made "before a loyalist commission" sometime "after the Revolutionary War," to the effect that "one-half of Washington's army were Irish." There seems to be considerable misunderstanding as to what were the exact circumstances under which this assertion was made, and not all who make use of it are in agreement as to the time and place. Some printed versions of it that I have seen were more or less incomplete and confusing, and the proof that such a statement actually was made, in the manner in which it is usually quoted, has been very unsatisfactory; for, with one or two possible exceptions, apparently no one has been able to say that he had consulted an original source of information or could refer to an official copy of this remarkable utterance.

Statements as to the racial composition of the Revolutionary army were made by several English officials and army officers. The one just referred to was part of the testimony given by Joseph Galloway, an American Tory, before a Parliamentary inquiry held in the English House of Commons, not "after the Revolutionary War," as has so often been stated, but during its fourth year, or, to be more precise, in the months of May, June, July, and August of the year 1779. While some historians have made use of portions of Galloway's testimony and have quoted passages from it in support

of certain historical facts, they have disregarded entirely that part of it relating to the racial elements constituting the American army,—on the assumption, I suppose, that it was so exaggerated as to be unworthy of consideration. Some have cast so much doubt upon it that the general belief among students of American history is that no such statement was ever made, and even a well known historian with Irish sympathies not only attaches no importance to it, but has counselled against the continued use of a statement which, he said, “cannot stand the light of investigation.”

On the other hand, there are many Americans of Irish descent who, while believing there must have been some justification for Galloway’s estimate, yet, never having seen any proof in support of it, have regarded it as a sort of tradition and one which, like other traditional tales, has become distorted by time. Like others, I have been somewhat skeptical of the importance of the Galloway testimony, especially as we are told by one historian of probity and standing that Galloway, in making his estimate, had in mind only the Pennsylvania regiments of the Continental Line, and not the American army as a whole. But that idea is dissipated on examining Galloway’s testimony in full and other evidence that supports it.

Some have said that the testimony was printed originally in a “Government Blue Book,” but if that be so, no one seems to have had the enterprise to search for it and publish the facts; so we have had to rely on the garbled versions that have been given to us from time to time by historical writers, or by orators on public

occasions, who, we know, are not always reliable. On this account, I have been at some pains to find the true facts of the case. The few pages here presented give for the first time an explanation of the circumstances under which Galloway testified, and certain phases of the story, drawn from the best known sources of information, are dealt with in more detail than heretofore. I shall present concisely certain facts tending to show that even if Galloway may not have been fully justified in his estimate of the numerical strength of the Irish in the Revolutionary army, he had good grounds for believing he was right.

If there is any "Government Blue Book" in existence containing this evidence, it is not in the Library of Congress, as far as I am able to ascertain, and a communication on the subject addressed to the British Museum failed to bring forth any response. I am of the opinion, however, that the publication is not an official "Blue Book," but a pamphlet printed at London, "for J. Wilkie, no. 71 in St. Paul's Churchyard, MDCCLXXIX," the full title of which is: "The Examination of Joseph Galloway, Esq., Late Speaker of the House of Assembly of Pennsylvania, Before the House of Commons in a Committee upon the American Papers." As may be seen from other official publications of the time, still extant, Wilkie was known as "the Parliamentary Printer," which fact supports the theory that there was no such thing as a "Government Blue Book," but that Wilkie's pamphlet was the official channel through which it was given originally to the people of England.

It now appears, however, that this was really the second appearance of Galloway's testimony as a printed document; for, strange though it may seem, I find that its first publication was in the city of New York. Recently, when examining some papers of the Revolutionary period at the Library of Congress, I had the good fortune to find some original issues of the *Royal Gazette* published in New York in the year 1779, containing a copy of "The Examination of Joseph Galloway." The publisher of the *Gazette* seems to have lost no time in reproducing the testimony, for he began to print it only five weeks after the Parliamentary inquiry had adjourned, or about the length of time that it took the packet ship to cross the Atlantic. He announced that it was printed from transcripts of the evidence given out by the committee, and that this was so is shown by the fact that two instalments are missing, which, the publisher explained, was due to the fact that "they did not arrive in the London mail." It is evident that Wilkie's publication was printed from a duplicate of the same document, for on comparing the copy in the *Royal Gazette* with the pamphlet bearing Wilkie's imprint, I find they agree word for word, with the exception of the two instalments missing from the *Gazette*.

Briefly, the history of the Parliamentary inquiry referred to is as follows: In the year 1779 there was wide-spread dissatisfaction in England over the conduct of the war. Charges of laxity and incompetence were brought against the Commander-in-chief, Sir William Howe, and other officers, and so severely were they criticized in Parliament that the Premier of England decided



The **EXAMINATION of JOSEPH GALLO-
WAY, Esq;** *late Speaker of the House of Assembly
of Pennsylvania, before the HOUSE of COMMONS
in a Committee on the AMERICAN PAPERS,——*

(Continued from No. 312.)

Q. **W**HAT was the encouragement held out to induce deserters to come over to us?

A. A proclamation was issued by Sir William Howe, offering them a passage home to Ireland or England, their native country, and they were generally paid for their arms and accoutrements.

Q. That part of the rebel army that enlisted in the service of the Congress, were they chiefly composed of natives of America, or were the greatest part of them English, Scotch, and Irish?

A. The names and places of their nativity being taken down, I can answer the question with precision.—There were scarcely one-fourth natives of America;—about one-half Irish,—the other fourth were English and Scotch.

Q. What is the character that the Provincials serving in the British army bear? Are they good troops, and have they behaved well when employed?

A. I have understood, as soon as they are disciplined they are very good troops, and have always behaved well; I know of no instance to the contrary. That I know to be the opinion of many of the military gentlemen.

Q. Do you know any thing of the army of the Rebels in general, how that is composed, of what country people?

A. I judge of that by the deserters that came over.

Q. What was the sum given as bounty money to a recruit enlisting in our provincial corps?

A. I have understood five hard dollars.

REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

FACSIMILE OF PART OF "THE EXAMINATION OF JOSEPH GALLOWAY" PUBLISHED IN THE ROYAL GAZETTE

to appoint a joint committee of the Lords and Commons to inquire into the charges. They summoned home to England several of the military chiefs for the purpose of obtaining information from them at first hand. Galloway, who had arrived in England only a short time before, was one of the principal witnesses at this hearing, and his testimony reflected so severely upon the management of the war by Howe and some of his subordinate officers, and he so ably exposed that faculty of "English bungling" of which we witness so many striking instances even to the present day, that the government, to "save its face," decided to drop the investigation, and the officers who had been relieved from their American posts were permitted to return.

The committee began its sittings in the House of Commons on the 5th of May, 1779, and the principal witnesses called before it, besides Galloway, were the Secretary of War (Lord George Germain), Lord Cornwallis, Sir Guy Carleton, Major-General Grey, Major-General James Robertson, and several regimental commanders. Galloway's examination occupied three days in all. He was first called on the 16th of June, 1779, and began by describing, in answer to questions, his career in this country. On this point he said: "I have lived in America from my nativity to the month of October last, about forty-eight years. . . . I have lived in the Province of Maryland, in the Delaware counties, and in the Province of Pennsylvania, chiefly in Philadelphia. My public profession was that of the law. I practised in all the Courts of Pennsylvania, in those of the Delaware Counties, and in the Supreme Courts of

New Jersey. I was a member of the Assembly of Pennsylvania eighteen years, and Speaker of the House twelve. I was appointed by the Assembly of that Province to attend the American Congress which met on the 5th of September, 1774. During the last war,¹ under appointment of the same Assembly, I was one of the Commissioners for disposing of the money granted to the crown and have been several times a Commissioner to treat with the Indians, and when Sir William Howe took possession of the City of Philadelphia, at his request I undertook the office of Superintendent of the Police of the City of Philadelphia and its suburbs, of the Port and of the prohibited Articles."

In answer to a question as to whether he "knew anything of the disposition of the other revolted Colonies" besides Pennsylvania, and as to whether, "from the successes of the British army, they were disposed to peace, or did they still remain sanguine in their hopes of maintaining their independence," Galloway said: "I had very good opportunities of knowing the state of the Middle Colonies, in which I include New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, the Delaware Counties, and Virginia." Further, that "gentlemen of fortune and integrity came to me [at Philadelphia] from all parts of these Colonies, from whom I made it my particular business to learn the state of the disposition of the people of those Colonies," adding that he was "informed by them all that the panic extended to all those parts, and that at that time very few indeed entertained hopes of supporting the independence." And,

¹ The French and Indian War.

at another period of the inquiry, in answer to a question as to why he had not resigned from the Continental Congress, if he were, as he asserted, "opposed to a resolution approving the opposition made by the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay to the late Acts of Parliament," he stated that he "proposed to Mr. Duane to leave the Congress," and that "could I have prevailed on him to leave the Congress with me, or had not my friends unanimously advised me that my personal safety would be in danger, I should certainly have left the Congress." And, in the light of subsequent events, it may be remarked in passing that this last quoted statement of Galloway's is an admirable tribute to the loyalty and devotion to the cause of American liberty of James Duane, son of the County Galway Irishman, Anthony Duane.

These statements, of themselves, show that Galloway was particularly well qualified to testify on American affairs, especially as to the make-up of the Revolutionary forces raised south and west of the Hudson River, if not in all parts of the Colonies. In his answers to interrogatories of members of the committee, he referred to his having exchanged views from time to time on political affairs with his fellow members of the Continental Congress, and showed that, for a while at least, he had the confidence of the leading patriots and that he had an intimate knowledge of the conditions under which the American army was organized. The opportunities which he possessed of obtaining information, as shown by his own testimony, the facts stated by him, and the prominence with which his views were

published by writers in his own and later days, have made this "examination" a document of much historical importance.

The continued successes of the British arms throughout the year 1776 disheartened the Americans and caused several leading men in public affairs to waver in their steadfastness to the patriot cause, and after the disastrous defeat at the battle of Long Island on August 28, 1776, and the capture of Fort Washington on November 16th of the same year, Joseph Galloway was one of the first of several prominent Americans who went over to the British. Galloway was a native of Maryland of English descent, and prior to the Revolutionary War he lived in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. A loyal subject of England, and a highly talented and influential man, he labored zealously to destroy the spirit of sedition which, during the agitation over the Stamp Act, threatened to sweep all before it. At the time of the outbreak of the war he was reputed to be one of the wealthiest men in the Colonies, and as Speaker of the Provincial Assembly of Pennsylvania he used all his influence to prevent the spread among his fellow members of the revolutionary movement when he discovered it had for its chief object the separation of the Colonies from England. He testified that he "came over to the royal army in the beginning of December, 1776, and continued with it until the evacuation of Philadelphia on the eighteenth of June last" (1778). He then went to New York, thence to Connecticut, where he remained until October, 1778, and on the last day of that month he sailed for England, never to return. His estate in

Bucks County was confiscated after he had been attainted for treason by the Pennsylvania Assembly.

The *Royal Gazette*, beginning with number 311, or the issue of September 21, 1779, and concluding with number 326, or the issue of November 13, 1779, published the examination of Joseph Galloway, word for word, and in that portion of it printed in the issues of October 20 and 27, 1779, are the following questions and answers:

Q. "What proportion of the inhabitants of the revolted Colonies, do you think, from principle and choice, supported the present rebellion at any period?

A. "I don't think that one-fifth part have supported the present rebellion.

Q. "From your knowledge of the people of America, what proportion of the inhabitants, do you think, at this time would prefer a reconciliation with Great Britain, rather than assist in supporting American independence?

A. "From the experience which the people have had of the superlative and excessive tyranny of their new rulers; from the distresses they have felt by the ravages of war and the loss of their trade; from the old attachment and I believe an earnest desire to be united with this country, I think I may venture to say that many more than four-fifths of the people would prefer an union with Great Britain upon constitutional principles to that of independence.

Q. "Were deserters from the rebel army frequent while Sir William Howe was in Philadelphia?

A. "They were frequent—almost daily. I have known forty-nine to come in in a day—many days from ten to fifteen.

Q. "What number do you suppose came into the army at Philadelphia?

A. "The deserters were generally sent from headquarters down to me for examination; from me they went to Mr. Story, the officer appointed to administer the oath of allegiance. He kept a regular account of their numbers, their names and places of nativity, and I

should think there were upwards of 2,300 qualified at his office, and I believe on good reason there might have been upwards of 700 or 800 more qualified; for I often found, on seeing him in the evening, that the number I had sent down to him had not gone, so that I suppose at least 3000 came in.

Q. "What was the encouragement held out to induce deserters to come over to us?"

A. "A proclamation was issued by Sir William Howe, offering passage home to Ireland or England, their native country, and they were generally paid for their arms and accoutrements.

Q. "That part of the rebel army that enlisted in the service of the Congress, were they chiefly composed of natives of America, or were the greatest part of them, English, Scotch, and Irish?"

A. "The names and places of their nativity being taken down, I can answer the question with precision. There were scarcely one-fourth natives of America; about one-half Irish; the other fourth were English and Scotch.

Q. "What is the character that the Provincials serving in the British army bear? Are they good troops, and have they behaved well when employed?"

A. "I have understood, as soon as they are disciplined, they are very good troops and have always behaved well. I know of no instance to the contrary. That I know to be the opinion of many of the military gentlemen.

Q. "Do you know anything of the army of the rebels in general, how that is composed, of what countrymen?"

A. "I judge of that by the deserters that came over."

Replying to further questions, Galloway said: "The deserters were in a manner naked; they were not clothed fit for the inclemency of the season. Some of them had linen garments on, and those very ragged and torn; some without shoes, very few with whole breeches or stockings; in short, they were objects of distress when they came down to me to be examined."

I have had the accompanying photographs taken of

the first and second pages of the *Royal Gazette* of October 27, 1779, containing Galloway's reference to the racial composition of Washington's army. I believe this is the first time that this interesting testimony has been reproduced in this way for the information of the general reading public, and, coming from such a source as the *Royal Gazette*, it may be accepted as a correct and authoritative version of this highly important statement. The *Royal Gazette* was published in New York by James Rivington, who was "printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty" on this side of the water, and, as may be seen from the accompanying reproduction of part of one of its issues, it was an official gazette of the British government during the period that the enemy had possession of the city (1776 to 1783), and it was through this channel that the proclamations of the generals of the army and other official notices were conveyed to the public. Regardless altogether of the correctness or reliability of the assertion that "about one-half" of Washington's army were Irish, we can now say that the fact that such a statement was made, and that it was made under oath by a perfectly trustworthy witness, is entirely removed from the realm of conjecture, and let us hope that those living historians who have scoffed at the idea that testimony of this nature was ever given, or, if given, that it could possibly be correct, will have the good grace to retract.

It will be observed from Galloway's testimony that his knowledge of "the army of the rebels in general" was based partly upon "the number of deserters that came over." That remark is one that is apt to be construed

in different ways by persons lacking knowledge of the historic facts, and in a general way, perhaps, to the discredit of a large number of the soldiers of the Revolution. The context shows that when making this statement, Galloway was referring to the time when large numbers of men left the ranks during the terrible winter of 1777, while the ragged remnants of the American army were encamped at Valley Forge, and the American cause, as Washington himself said, was "on the brink of destruction." Thousands of these devoted patriots were shoeless and in rags,² and while starvation was staring them in the face, Continental paper money was all the paymasters had to offer to purchase the necessities of life from the surrounding farmers, most of whom were hostile to their cause and refused to accept anything but specie for their commodities.

Galloway's testimony shows that at this time the British were "plentifully supplied with provisions," while "Washington's army was in extreme distress." Some of the American soldiers "had had furloughs to go out into the neighborhood to get provisions," but they found "the inhabitants were so averse to the measures of Congress that they did not supply them."³ The

² Lafayette says in his *Memoirs*: "The unfortunate soldiers were in want of everything; they had neither coats, nor hats, nor shirts, nor shoes; their feet and legs froze till they grew black, and it was often necessary to amputate them." (*Mémoires de Lafayette*, Vol. I, p. 36.) The men slept on the frozen ground, and a committee of Congress, early in 1778, reported that "sick soldiers had died in their huts for lack of straw on which to lie."

³ While the farmers of the surrounding country voluntarily brought and sold their supplies to the British in Philadelphia, they

city of Philadelphia, then in possession of the British, and only a comparatively short distance from the American camp, was an inviting haven in such terrible extremity, and thither many of the human wrecks went in the guise of "deserters" and obtained temporary relief from their sufferings. Besides, men who had enlisted for three, six, or nine months were constantly coming and going as their terms had expired. They were paid off in Continental paper money, and many of them, being without currency or proper clothing, drifted into Philadelphia in search of employment or the wherewithal to keep body and soul together. The situation in Philadelphia, however, was not favorable to any accession to the population. Many of the patriotic merchants and manufacturers had long since fled the city and business was in a chaotic state; so that, when the returned soldiers found no means of employment, they naturally resorted to the pretence of being "deserters from the rebel army." Galloway testified that "at least 3000" deserters from Washington's army came into Philadelphia, and he estimated that "perhaps half as many more might have deserted into the country to their friends." But, in course of time, the majority of these men managed to find their way back to their former allegiance, for long before the summer days of 1778 had begun, a renewed hope sprang up in their breasts and Washington's army had again been recruited, largely by the return of the

left the patriot army to starve, and the few provisions Washington had were obtained mainly by raiding the loyalist supply wagons on their way to Philadelphia. (See *The True History of the American Revolution*, by Sidney George Fisher, p. 236.)

very men whom the British had regarded as weaned away from the "rebel" cause. To a large extent, proof of this fact is obtainable, not only by comparison of the muster-rolls of the American army prior to its encampment at Valley Forge with the same rolls as they existed just before the battle of Monmouth, but by the fact that when Howe evacuated Philadelphia in June, 1778, the "stragglers" of the previous winter from the American camp did not accompany the British troops.

Examinations of records of courts-martial, orderly books, and letters from commanding officers also indicate that at this time the abuse of the privilege of the furlough was a matter of considerable concern to the military chiefs; and so grave did the situation appear to General Washington, that we find him writing to General Heath from Valley Forge on April 8, 1778, demanding that he "issue positive orders for every man belonging to the regiments of your State [Massachusetts] whose furloughs have expired to join their corps under pain of being treated as deserters." ⁴ As a rule, the records of courts-martial show that the "deserter" was accused of "absenting himself from his quarters without leave," but the crime of "desertion" as such was mentioned comparatively seldom, and in the sentence imposed on the offender it was usually ordered "that the prisoner be returned to duty." And we even find many instances of men listed among the "deserters," but whose names at some later time appear in the records among the "killed" or "wounded" of the American army.

⁴ Washington's Letters to Heath, in Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Vol. IV, p. 84.

Numerous cases are recorded of "deserters" who returned to their commands after a lapse of time, and we find an example of this in a list of men, from the muster-roll of Captain Richard Brown's company of the First Battalion of Miles' Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment, who were reported by Lieutenant James Holms under date of October 1, 1776, in the following manner:

"Michael McKittrick	Desert'd and Returnt
Hugh Henry	Desert'd and Returnt
Daniel McIntire	Desert'd and Returnt
George Morris	Desert'd and Returnt
James Kelly	Desert'd and Returnt
John Dougherty	Desert'd and Returnt
Job Riley	Desert'd and Returnt
Michael Cowin	Desert'd and Returnt"

In the same report Lieutenant Holms included three other "deserters," but made no mention that they had "returnt," and in two of these cases it is clear that they did not return to Captain Brown's company, but later joined other units of the Pennsylvania forces. These men were thus recorded by Lieutenant Holms:

"Mark Welsh	Desert'd September 23rd
Daniel McGuire	Desert'd September 12th
Miles Ryan	Desert'd September 12th"

The roll of Captain Brown's company as it stood at different dates is given in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, and in the very next muster following the one in which the foregoing entries were made the name of Mark Welsh appears, indicating that in the meantime he had returned to duty. As to Daniel McGuire, while there

is an unaccountable lapse of time in his record between September, 1776, and April, 1778, he is shown under the latter date as enlisting in his "home company," namely, the Sixth Company of the First Battalion of Cumberland County Militia, as a substitute for one William Strain; and on the muster-roll of Captain John Doyle's company of the Sixth Regiment of the Line, which was largely raised in Cumberland County, the same Daniel McGuire appears as an enlisted man under date of September 9, 1778. Under date of September 8, 1778, Miles Ryan reappears on the roll of Captain John Marshall's company of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Colonel Walter Stewart.

A list of "Desertions from the First Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line," in the *American Historical Register* (volumes 2 and 3), includes the following:

Names	<i>Deserted</i>		<i>Returned</i>	
	<i>Where</i>	<i>When</i>	<i>Where</i>	<i>When</i>
Matthew McAnnally	James Isl.	July 4	Philadelphia	July 28
Patrick McCarlin	ditto	July 1	ditto	August
Charles Connor	ditto	July 4	ditto	August
Thomas Doyle	Elk	July 30	ditto	August
Edward Lyons	Elk	July 3	ditto	July 28

In all cases the men who absented themselves from their commands were not put down as "deserters," for some appear under the head of "absent without leave," which was, in effect, the same thing. For example, we find such entries as this: "Michael Spelissey, absent without leave," so recorded by Lieutenant Bernard Ward of Atlee's Pennsylvania Musketry Battalion,

Q. Would you trust the new conquests in Georgia to that defence?

A. I wish the committee would enquire of the honourable member I have alluded to.

Q. Might Halifax be trusted to that defence without any King's troops?

A. The Provincials at Halifax are very few; the country is not strong yet.

Q. Do you, as an experienced military man, and knowing in the circumstances of that country, think that one considerable place in America, that was an object to the enemy to attack, could be safely entrusted to the now existing provincial troops in British pay, alone and unsupported by his Majesty's British or German troops?

A. I have a very good opinion of the provincial troops, and have no reason to doubt of their fidelity or courage; wherever there is a fort that their numbers could properly occupy, I believe they would make a good defence.

Q. Would it be advisable to commit it to their defence?

A. Troops on different establishments acting together, create an emulation, and possibly would act best when joined. Question repeated.

A. I have said, a mixed body makes the best garrison, and therefore I would take the best method.

Q. Could it be safely done?

A. I have no suspicion of them; and if I was under a necessity, I should have no diffidence of them, but I should take the measure I thought best.

Q. How are the provincial corps composed; whether mostly of native Americans, or from emigrants from various nations of Europe?

A. Some of the corps consist mostly of natives; others, I believe the greatest number, are enlisted from such people that can be got in the country, and many of them may be emigrants: our force is not distinguished from the rebels in that circumstance. I remember General Lee telling me, that he believed half the rebel army were from Ireland?

Q. By the rebel army, did General Lee mean the continental army or militia?

A. I mean the continental army.

Q. Are the Provincials in the King's service generally officered by Americans of property in that country?

A. I remember great numbers: most of the officers that we put at the head of the regiments were men of the best influence

R r 2

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under date of September, 1776, at which time the battalion was stationed at King's Bridge, New York. While it is apparent that Michael Spelissey was not as amenable to discipline as a good soldier ought to be, he was not unfaithful to his country, for his name appears on the roll of Captain Robert Gray's company of the Pennsylvania State Regiment commanded by Major Lewis Farmer, when mustered in at Red Bank, New Jersey, on May 9, 1777, and in a later certificate by "Ludovick Sprogell, Commissary General of Musters," he is recorded as "sick in Philadelphia."

In some cases the record reads, "supposed deserted," an instance of this being the case of Dennis Mahony, who was thought to have deserted from Captain Thomas Holland's company of Colonel David Hall's Delaware Regiment of the Line in July, 1777. It was found, however, that Mahony had actually been captured by the enemy "in the affair at Staten Island," so his name appears on the same company roll of the month of October, 1777, with this marginal notation: "missing on Staten Island, 22 August." The case of Private John Duffy of the same regiment furnishes another example. This man's name appears on the rolls all through the year 1777, when it was suddenly dropped, but reappears in Captain Kirkwood's return for the month of August, 1778, with an explanatory notation reading: "Returned from desertion, 3 August, 1778." Since there is no record of a court-martial or of any punishment meted out to Private Duffy for his delinquency, it is clear that his superiors did not regard his absence as that of "desertion."

In the *Records of Service of Connecticut Men in the War of the Revolution*⁵ several soldiers are down as "deserters." One entry under this head reads: "A number of men entered as deserters about December 1 explained in petitions that they had no intention of deserting, but believed that their term had expired. The Assembly ordered them to be paid for full time." Part of the record of Thomas Duffy, private in Captain Smith's Company, Eighth Regiment of the Connecticut Line, reads thus: "Enlisted April 18, 1777, for the duration of the war; deserted July 10, 1779; rejoined; discharged December 6, 1781." Private James Murphy of the Sixth Troop, Sheldon's Connecticut Light Dragoons, also belongs to the same category. His record reads in part: "Enlisted April 11, 1777, from the Town of Wethersfield; occupation, farmer; deserted and returned." Private Powers of the same troop "enlisted April 22, 1780; deserted and returned, 1781."

John Barry of Holliston, Massachusetts, who enlisted in Colonel John Vose's regiment in February, 1778, was reported "a deserter" on October 25, 1778, but his name appears on the muster-roll in the following month, and in April, 1779, he was reported "sick at Attleborough."

In the muster-roll of Colonel Shepard's Fourth Massachusetts Regiment, Private Charles Casey was thus entered: "Deserted January 15, 1777, at Peekskill; a foreigner," but the same man's name is on a "return of men enlisted into the Continental Army for Captain Nathan Hamilton's company of Colonel Converse's

⁵ Compiled by authority of the General Assembly and published at Hartford, Connecticut, 1889.

Fourth Worcester County, Mass., Regiment, sworn to at Brookfield, February 17, 1778."

The record of Jeremiah Keefe shows that he enlisted "for the period of the war" from Londonderry, New Hampshire, in Colonel Joseph Vose's Massachusetts Regiment on January 1, 1777; "reported deserted, October 17, 1778; returned September 26, 1779."

David Kelley, of Colonel Ebenezer Sprout's Massachusetts Regiment, "reported deserted January 21, 1777," again appears on the muster-roll of Captain Joseph Jenkins' company of Colonel Samuel Brewer's Massachusetts Regiment in a return dated "Camp near Valley Forge, January 23, 1778."

John Ryan is "reported deserted June 7, 1777," from Colonel John Bailey's Massachusetts regiment, yet the same man's name appears on a return of Captain Jacob Allen's company of the same regiment, dated "Camp Valley Forge, January 24, 1778."

On the record of Richard Ryan, who enlisted in Captain Mills' company of Colonel Joseph Vose's regiment on January 1, 1777, there is an entry reading "reported deserted but returned." As the date of his discharge was January 7, 1783, and the cause "disabled by a rupture," it is seen that he actually served six years in the Revolutionary army after his "desertion."

The record of Charles McCormick of Colonel John Bailey's Massachusetts regiment reads in part as follows: "Reported deserted November 18, 1778, but re-enlisted for the war April 17, 1779, in Colonel Hazen's regiment."

Daniel McBride was "reported deserted July 20,

1777," from a Massachusetts regiment, yet the very next day he is thus recorded: "Daniel McBride; rank, private; engaged July 21, 1777; term, three years," in Colonel William H. Lee's regiment, and the pay-rolls show that he served out his full term.

John Cain, of the Fifth New York Regiment of the Continental Line, is thus recorded in the *Military Register*:

"Enlisted, August 1, 1778; deserted December 1, 1778; rejoined and transferred to Sappers and Miners, August 1, 1780."

In some cases "deserters" were so recorded through misunderstanding or through the keeping of improper records. For example, John Quin, a private soldier in Colonel John Greateon's Massachusetts Regiment of the Line, was reported "deserted" in June, 1777, yet in the record there also appears a certificate signed by Captain Crumpston of the same regiment that "said Quin was in the service on or before August 15, 1777, and had not been absent except by leave of proper authority." On the reverse of this certificate Mrs. Sarah Greateon certified that "said Quin was a servant to Colonel Greateon and was on furlough until his return," and on the strength of this the Massachusetts Council of War, on February 24, 1779, allowed Private Quin "a gratuity."

A similar case was that of Private Daniel Driskel, of Colonel John Brooks' Massachusetts Regiment, who was "reported deserted from Philipsburgh, N. J., July 26, 1781"; yet a later entry in the rolls shows that he "returned to regiment, was not deserted, but had his furlough lengthened by Col. Brooks." Another entry reads:

“Daniel Driskil, Ireland; reported furloughed for fifty days; also reported deserted February 28, 1781,” but his name reappears on the roll for May, 1781, at West Point, New York.

These are but individual instances of many similar ones which appear in the Revolutionary muster-rolls of the various States, and which justify the conclusion before arrived at, that the term “deserter,” as used in the official records, was not always intended or meant in its modern sense.

This does not mean, of course, that there were no deserters from the American army, for there were, just as there have been from all armies and at all times; but the term “deserter” was not then always intended in its literal sense, and should not now be so construed. Frequently, when there was a lull in the fighting, soldiers detached themselves from their commands and returned to their families,⁶ especially in the harvest time, and after bringing in the crops or repairing the ravages caused by the war to their homes, or attending to other family matters, they rejoined the army, but not always the same company or regiment. The official publication entitled *New York in the Revolution* furnishes an explanation

⁶ General Montgomery, in a letter to Robert R. Livingston of New York, dated Quebec, December 17, 1775, complained of “the universal rage for going home” on the part of the New England troops. See the *Livingston MS. Letters* at the New York Public Library. General St. Clair, in a letter to General Schuyler from Ticonderoga, June 13, 1777, in referring to the New Hampshire militia regiments, said: “The men go off whenever they please.” (See *Schuyler Papers* in the New York Historical Society Collections, Vol. for 1879.)

of this: "The word 'deserted' written after the name of a Revolutionary soldier must not be taken too seriously. Frequently the men absented themselves to gather crops, to attend a sick wife, or bury a child, but it is found that the soldier generally returned and was again taken up on the rolls."⁷ And an explanatory note in the *Pennsylvania Archives*,⁸ relative to the number of men on the rolls who were recorded as "deserted," says: "Many, if not all, of those marked 'deserted' were simply 'absent without leave' and subsequently 'returned to duty'"; in the *Archives*, also, referring to "deserters," I find this foot-note: "The fact of a soldier being marked on one roll deserted, amounted to nothing, because they usually returned after a few months' absence." The same statement is made in the *Archives of Maryland*.⁹

This is best shown by a comparison of the names on the rolls at different dates, with short intervals between. One finds, for example, that a company muster-roll on a given date would comprise certain men, but when we examine the list of men in the same company as it stood some few months later, a number of names may be missing, and with nothing in evidence, such as a battle taking place in the meantime, to explain the apparent defection from the ranks. But in numerous instances there are means of identifying such men, especially in the case of odd or uncommon names, and it is a very

⁷ *The Muster-Rolls of the New York Revolutionary Regiments*, compiled by James Roberts, State Comptroller, from the Archives of the Secretary of State; Albany, 1898.

⁸ 6th Ser., Vol. II, p. 873.

⁹ Introduction to Vol. XVIII.

simple thing and requires only a little patience to trace the missing men and locate their whereabouts. Sometimes we find these so-called "deserters" in another company of the same regiment, or in another regiment of the same brigade, or perhaps in an entirely different regiment attached to another brigade which, at the time they reënlisted, may have been operating in the same section of the country. No one reading the extracts quoted from Galloway's testimony, therefore, need be shocked at his allusion to "deserters"; for, as a rule, there is no discredit in this statement to the so-called "deserters," no matter of what nationality. On the other hand, no one should rail at these "deserters" without understanding what the term then meant.¹⁰

¹⁰ Every regiment had its "deserters." In an account by Colonel Donald Campbell of the operations in Canada, dated March 28, 1776, he said that from Arnold's and Livingston's detachments, comprised respectively of New England and New York troops, "the soldiers are deserting by tens, twenties, and thirties." See *Livingston MS. Letters*, fol. 171, at New York Public Library.

CHAPTER VII

FALSE STATEMENTS REFUTED

Galloway antagonistic to the Irish. Henry Cabot Lodge's statements disproved. Major-General Robertson's examination before the Parliamentary committee. Statement of General Charles Lee. The letters of Galloway, Clinton, and Serle. "The emigrants from Ireland our most serious antagonists." Diary of Major Joshua Pell. Illuminating testimony of the presence of large bodies of Irish in Washington's army. The American loyalists.

ALTHOUGH the author of a statement that is highly creditable to the patriotism of the Irish, Galloway cannot be accused of Irish leanings. As a matter of fact, he seems to have had a positive aversion to the Irish in America, for he associated them with what he called "the turbulent element," and more than once he publicly denounced the continual agitation of the Pennsylvania and Maryland Irish, not only in matters affecting "land rights" and their alleged encroachments upon the domains of the Indian tribes, but for their clamorous demand that the Colonies throw off all connection with what he called "the mother country." In one of his speeches he referred to them as "dangerous characters, responsible for the Stamp Act disturbances"; he ridiculed their "republican principles," and on another occasion he vehemently denounced in the Assembly the so-called "Paxton rioters," who, in the

year 1764, killed a number of Indians at Conestoga, in Lancaster County. And when we read the various versions of this incident that are given to us by Pennsylvania historians, who tell us that the white settlers of the district were "Scotch-Irish," we see at once that Galloway, in his criticism, aimed particularly at the Irish. Henry Cabot Lodge, in his *History of the English Colonies in America*, makes some adverse criticism of those ante-Revolutionary Irish of Pennsylvania whom Galloway denounced, when he says: "They were an idle, quarrelsome, and disorderly class, always at odds with the Government." Why a gentleman of the standing and responsibility of Mr. Lodge should make such a sweeping and obviously false statement has never been understood.

If the Pennsylvania Irish were "idle," we wonder how they thrived, for they did thrive; and we wonder still more at the temerity of those who wrote the county and town histories of that province, in which it is shown that the Irish built the roads, bridged the streams, hewed down the virgin forests, founded settlements and towns to which they gave their names and the names of their home places in Ireland, and, in many sections of Pennsylvania, so changed the face of the country as to turn it from a howling wilderness into a place fit for man's abode. How such an indictment can be brought against a people whose men are industrious, whose women are virtuous, and whose sons blazed the trail of civilization in the days when only men of stout hearts and willing hands could survive, is beyond the comprehension of one who has examined the records of the period!

And the Irish were "disorderly and at odds with the Government"! The admission has since been forced from Mr. Lodge¹ that that was simply his "opinion," and an opinion not predicated upon the records nor upon any special study of the conditions under which those people lived. The Irish, it is well known, are a sturdy, self-willed, and aggressive people. They are an independent, self-reliant people, too, when not laboring under adverse political conditions, as they were, and are to-day in their native land. In ante-Revolutionary days they were, doubtless, "at odds with the Government." So were all good Americans in those days, for, be it remembered, the Irish immigrants brought with them to this country bitter memories of English persecution, and when the Revolutionary War came on they and their children made England pay dearly for her oppressions in Ireland.

And well they proved their fidelity to the land of their adoption, although historians like Mr. Lodge are unwilling to give them credit. When, for example, on April 12, 1779, the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania issued an order for the sale of the property of all persons in that province accused of treason, the name of not one person who lived in Cumberland County is found on the list! The significance of this is that Cumberland County was peopled almost entirely by Irish settlers, which statement can be verified by reference to the Colonial Records.²

"Disorderliness" in those days was very often synony-

¹ In a letter to the author.

² Vol. IX.

mous with antagonism to the British government. There was a large and influential element among the people loyal to the crown who wanted no change from the existing form of government, and who looked upon the agitators as a "disorderly" class. Witness the thirty thousand or more loyalists who migrated to Canada, and those other thousands who returned to England. The restless Irish were among this "disorderly" element. They chafed under British domination in America, as they did in their native land. It was a hard matter to induce some to take part in "demonstrations" against the British. To be a patriot was not as popular as people nowadays are disposed to think, and in the beginning, before any fighting took place, it was principally those who, from previous environment, were opposed to the British under all circumstances, that had the temerity to take part in the agitation which led up to the outbreak of 1775. And it is an historic fact that it was Charles Thomson,³ of the race that Mr. Lodge has defamed, who was the first to raise his voice in Pennsylvania against the iniquities of the Stamp Act.

Who could they have been who were so bitterly opposed to the British? Who were the malcontents in Pennsylvania who were foremost in stirring up the strife which led up to the final resort to arms? In short, who were they, above all other Europeans, that made the Revolution possible? Mr. Lodge knows but declines to give them credit. They were mainly "the disorderly Irish"!

The Irish were "an undesirable element," also says

³ Thomson was a native of Maghera, County Derry, Ireland.

Mr. Lodge. Yet who were the schoolmasters of the Colonies? In the noble category of teachers of the Colonial youth, as can be proven by authentic records and early town histories, natives of Ireland predominated in many sections of the country, and in some places the youth had no one to teach them their letters but immigrant Irish schoolmasters!

This was the class whom Joseph Galloway in the heyday of his power despised, but to whom, when placed upon the witness-stand before an English tribunal, he paid the highest tribute that could be bestowed upon the patriotism of any single element of the Colonial population.

The statement of Galloway as to the proportion of Irishmen in the Revolutionary army is supported by evidence given at the same inquiry by Major-General James Robertson, who had served in the British army in America for twenty years prior to the outbreak of the Revolution. The *Royal Gazette* did not print the testimony of General Robertson, but it is found in the official English publication, *The Parliamentary Register, or History of the Proceedings and Debates of the House of Commons*.⁴ That there was no more competent witness to testify on American military affairs than General Robertson will be noted from the accompanying photographic reproduction of a portion of his testimony from the *Parliamentary Register*. Prior to his taking the stand, Lord George Germain announced that Robertson's "long residence in America, upwards of twenty-four years, his high and

⁴ London, 1779.

Examined by Mr. Burke.

June 9th, 1779.

Mr. Burke.

The loyal Provincials in arms, amounted to between five and six thousand. He did not know the number of the Rebels. The loyal Americans consisted of corps, some of them mostly composed of native Americans, some mostly composed of emigrants from Great Britain, Ireland, and other parts of Europe.

Half the Rebel
army Irish.

He had heard that full one half of the rebel army was composed of Irish. He did not believe, that if the royal troops were withdrawn from within his own government, (New-York) that the loyal Provincial military would be able to maintain their ground against the usurped power of the Congress. The province of Nova Scotia was very weak in point of internal defence, so would Rhode Island if evacuated. He could not speak of the Carolinas, Georgia, Canada, &c. but there were several Gentlemen, Members of that House, who could give full satisfaction on those points. The loyalists though more numerous, were unarmed, and the powers of government had been usurped. Two thirds of the people, though well affected to the British government, were not a match for the other third if armed, and in possession of the civil government. The loyal Provincials were good troops, and well disciplined. He believed the Congress did issue orders for arming all the inhabitants, but those who had the power in their hands, disarmed every person whom they suspected. If one third were for Great Britain, another for the Congress, and a third partly neutral, the Congress part would prevail for the reason before assigned: not that he thought that an inferior number, and in every respect upon equal terms with a superior number, could give law to the superior number.

Two thirds of
the Americans
loyal.

Taxation was the cause of the rebellion; the people in general shewing an aversion to be taxed. If taxation had been given up, no rebellion would ever have happened. The people were zealously attached, before that claim was enforced, to the British government.

Loyal Americans
plundered.

Sir William Howe was earnest, and took every method to prevent plunder, but plunder was committed. The loyal Americans were not properly protected, nor the necessary means taken for their safety. The General had taken every means in his power to protect them, but his endeavours had not always proved successful.

REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

FACSIMILE OF PAGE FROM "A VIEW OF THE EVIDENCE
RELATIVE TO THE CONDUCT OF THE AMERICAN WAR,
AS GIVEN BEFORE A COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF
COMMONS LAST SESSION OF PARLIAMENT," LONDON, 1779.

deserved rank in the service, and his being present on the spot when the rebellion broke out, furnished him with every reason to expect that his evidence would be accurate and important, and that he was in every way, from his long experience and local residence, enabled to give the most satisfactory information to the Committee." And the testimony clearly shows that Robertson had excellent opportunities for obtaining a thorough understanding of the causes underlying the Revolution and of the class of people who upheld its principles and fought for its establishment and preservation.

The official transcript of the evidence, as printed in the *Parliamentary Register*, shows that General Robertson was examined on the 8th of June, 1779, and, in answer to a question by Lord George Germain, said that, in his opinion, "more than two-thirds of the people would prefer the King's Government to the Congress' tyranny." ⁵ Asked "whether the inhabitants of America have shown a willingness to take up arms in the present contest, and if the Congress found it easy to recruit their armies," Robertson said: "I can only answer from observations I have made on other facts. The armies have not filled, and from publications I have seen, there is no doubt but that they have often threatened to draft their militia." ⁶

To Edmund Burke's inquiry, "How are the provincial corps composed; whether mostly of native Americans, or from emigrants from various nations of Europe?" General Robertson replied: "Some of the corps con-

⁵ *Parliamentary Register*, Vol. XIII, p. 276.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

sisted mostly of natives; and others, I believe the greatest number, are enlisted from such people that can be got in the country, and many of them may be emigrants. Our force is not distinguished from the rebels in that circumstance. I remember General Lee telling me that he believed half the rebel army were from Ireland.”⁷ Burke further asked, “By the rebel army, did General Lee mean the Continental army?” and Robertson replied, “I mean the Continental army.”⁸

I have had the accompanying photographs made of the title-page of the *Parliamentary Register* and of that part of it where this interesting testimony appears, as well as of some pages of a book printed in London in 1779, entitled: “A View of the Evidence Relative to the Conduct of the American War under Sir William Howe, Lord Viscount Howe, and General Burgoyne, as given before a Committee of the House of Commons last session of Parliament.” In this book the testimony is given in summary form only, but it will be observed that it agrees fully with the verbatim report printed in the *Parliamentary Register*.

The Lee referred to by General Robertson was Major-General Charles Lee, second in command of the Continental army, who was appointed to that post immediately after the battle of Bunker Hill. For three

⁷ *Parliamentary Register*, Vol. XIII, p. 305.

⁸ In the *New York Colonial Manuscripts*, Vol. VIII, p. 805, there is a long report from a spy to the English commandant at New York, dated September 4, 1780, in which he said: “The American army is certainly an army on which there can be no dependence. The Continentals are less than half of it, and one-half of them are Europeans.”

years he was active in the operations through New England and the Middle and Southern Colonies, and having come in contact with the various divisions of the army, he undoubtedly had opportunities to form opinions of its personnel. Although a brilliant soldier, his career ended in obscurity, if not in shame; for after the battle of Monmouth in June, 1778, he was arrested by order of Washington for disobedience to his commands, and after trial by court-martial was suspended from the army. He removed to Philadelphia for a time, and no doubt it was there that Robertson met him, for the testimony shows that the latter was stationed in Philadelphia in 1778.

We can only conjecture the reasons for Lee's informing Robertson of the proportion of Irishmen in the American army. Between the two Englishmen there was a natural bond of sympathy, and as both had served several years in the British army in America, during the French and Indian War, it is more than probable that they were well acquainted, if not friends. When they met again in Philadelphia, the composition of the American army, as a matter of course, would be a natural subject of conversation, and in discussing the progress of the war and its probable outcome the English general would naturally inquire as to the character of the material comprising the opposing forces. But, in whatever way it came about, we may be reasonably sure that when Lee stated to Robertson that he "believed half the rebel army were from Ireland," he said what he believed to be the fact. And when considered with the testimony of Galloway, it is unquestionably very

flattering to Irish-American pride, and many will be disposed to accept it as "the last word" on the subject.

It is to be assumed also that Robertson himself believed that Lee's estimate was not overdrawn, for otherwise he would not consider it of sufficient moment to introduce at so important an inquiry. If by any possibility the point should be raised that General Lee's statement was only a guess or was made without due consideration of its import, no one can gainsay the fact that all three, Galloway, Robertson, and Lee, were competent judges of the situation—Lee by personal contact with the personnel of the patriot army, and Galloway and Robertson by their observations of the disposition of the people toward independence.

While I believe that Galloway's estimate was to some extent exaggerated, yet there is in existence documentary evidence substantiating his and other similar statements that a large proportion of the "rebel army" were Irish; and not only that, but that the Irish element were regarded by the English commanders as among their "most serious antagonists." This evidence is contained in official reports and letters from army officers and others in America to their superiors in London, written during the course of the war, which are on file in the archives of the Public Record Office in England, the Royal Institution, the Tower of London, the British Museum, the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and some in private collections in the possession of titled families in England, and at the Bureau des Affaires Etrangères in Paris. In this collection there are several thousand letters and reports bearing upon the Revo-

Great Numbers of Emigrants, particularly Irish, are in the
Rebel Army, some by Choice and many for mere subsistence.
They have also many transported Irish, who have exchanged ignominy
and servitude, for a sort of Honor and Ease, by entering among
them. This is a further Argument against the Transportation of
such People from England in future. Confinement to hard Labor
at Home might answer some valuable Purposes there, and would
be a real Punishment to the Convicts. Here, they do Great Britain
much Injury, by bringing over Numbers and Trades, and so
adding strength, already too great, to the Forces of America
against her.

REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

FACSIMILE OF PART OF A LETTER DATED NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 25, 1776,
FROM AMBROSE SERLE TO THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH, SECRETARY OF STATE.

lutionary War, mostly from the English standpoint, and in many of these references are found relating to Ireland and to the Irish in America.

One of these very interesting documents is an official report dated New York, September 25, 1776, from Ambrose Serle to the Earl of Dartmouth, the English Secretary of State. Serle was private secretary to Lord Dartmouth and was sent to this country in 1776 as confidential agent of the English cabinet, and his reports show that he accompanied the army for two years and was very busily engaged in gathering information about the state of the country and the condition of both armies. Joseph Galloway, in a letter to Lord Dartmouth, dated June 21, 1778, referred to Serle's "unwearied attentions in securing first-hand information" and stated that "he had more knowledge of American affairs than any other person that I have ever known to have visited this country." In Ambrose Serle's report of September 25, 1776, a facsimile of part of which is here reproduced, besides many other interesting sidelights on the Revolutionary War, will be noted the following passage:

"Great Numbers of Emigrants, particularly Irish, are in the Rebel Army, some by Choice and many for mere Subsistence. They have also many transported Felons, who have exchanged Ignominy and Servitude for a Sort of Honor and Ease, by entering among them. This is a further Argument against the Transportation of such people from England in future. Confinement to hard Labor at Home might answer some valuable Purposes there, and would be a real Punishment to the Convicts. Here, they do Great Britain much Injury, by bringing over Numbers and Trades, and so adding strength, already too great, to the Force of America against her."

Mr. Serle's characterization of the Irish political refugees as "convicts," and his recommendation that those of the same way of thinking at home be subjected to "punishment," are not surprising. But that he unquestionably knew his business is indicated by his advice to his government to exercise its authority by prohibiting the departure of any more Irishmen to America, where they would "do Great Britain much injury" by "adding strength to the force of America against her." His statement as to "the Irish in the Rebel Army" was corroborated by Joshua Pell, an English army officer, who recorded in his Diary under date of June 1, 1776, this significant though amusing entry: "The Rebels consist chiefly of Irish Redemptioners and Convicts, the most audacious rascals existing."⁹ Pell's Diary shows that he was only a short time in America when he discovered this interesting fact; and in describing a brush with the "rebels" at Trois Rivières he said: "The rebel Generals that commanded were Thompson¹⁰ and O'Sullivan.¹¹ Thompson and Colonel Irwin,¹² another Irishman, with about twelve Officers of lesser note were amongst the prisoners."

If it should be claimed that Galloway's statement be-

⁹ *Diary of Joshua Pell, an Officer of the British Army in America, 1776-1777*, reproduced from the original in the possession of James L. Onderdonk, the New York historian, in *Magazine of American History* for January, 1878.

¹⁰ General William Thomson, a native of Ireland, who commanded a regiment of the Pennsylvania Line, is here referred to.

¹¹ Pell undoubtedly meant General John Sullivan.

¹² This was Colonel, afterward General William Irvine, who was a native of Enniskillen, County Fermanagh, Ireland.

fore the parliamentary committee in 1779, as to the proportion of Irish in the American army, was based merely on his recollection, and that, as such, it is "not admissible as evidence," we have the evidence of his letters to the Secretary of State written from Philadelphia in the year 1778, and at a time when he could give the matter mature thought, and when, as superintendent of police of the city of Philadelphia, he was in daily contact with the English army officers. These letters are also in the English archives. In a letter to Lord Dartmouth on January 27, 1778, Galloway said: "As a proof of the aversion of the natives of America to the present rebellion, the rebels are not one in ten of their whole army who are not either English, Scotch, or Irish, but by far the greater number of Irish." On March 4, 1778, he again wrote Lord Dartmouth: "From the beginning there has been a reluctance in the natives of America to enter into the regular service of the Rebellion. They have been forced out in the Militia by heavy fines for a few months only. The English, Scotch, and Irish, by far the most part of the latter, have principally composed the rebel regular army."

Another very interesting document here reproduced is portion of a long letter from General Sir Henry Clinton to Lord George Germain, Secretary of War, dated New York, October 23, 1778. This letter related to the difficulty of carrying out "his Lordship's instructions to draw off from the American army the number of Europeans which constituted its principal force"; and on this point Clinton remarked significantly: "The Emigrants from Ireland were in general to be looked upon as our

most serious antagonists. They had fled from the real or fancied oppression of the landlords. Through dread of prosecution for the riots which their idea of that oppression had occasioned, they had transplanted themselves into a country where they could live without oppression and had estranged themselves from all solicitude of the welfare of Britain."

General Clinton's first attempt "to draw off from the American army the number of Europeans which constituted its principal force" was to organize two so-called "Irish" regiments, and in furtherance of this design he sent his spies among the foreign-born soldiers with flattering inducements if they would "desert the rebel army," and, if they chose, they could have "free passage to England or Ireland." In an order to the troops at Valley Forge issued by Washington on April 23, 1778, he warned against "the devices of the enemy to induce them to desert" and he addressed himself particularly to the foreign-born troops, saying that if any of them "be deluded by the treacherous promises of the enemy, that under pretense of sending deserters from this army passage free to Great Britain or Ireland, there to be set at large," that, as a matter of fact, the enemy's purpose was "to confine them on ship-board with a view either to force them into their service as seamen, or transport them as recruits to some garrison."¹³ During the following year, emissaries from the enemy's camp again appeared among the American troops, but with no success, so far as is known. Yet, Clinton was not

¹³ *Revolutionary Orders of General Washington*, edited by Henry Whiting; New York, 1844.

New York October 23rd 1776

My Lord,

In your Lordships last motion to me, dated the 6th of March, I find myself decidered to try all means which should appear to me likely to draw off from the American Army, the Numbers of Europeans which constituted its principal Force.

It was difficult to hold forth Terms of sufficient Advantage to induce these People to Defection from the Rebels, without giving Cause of Dissatisfaction to each of the Nations of the Country as had, unawed by Award, manifested their Attachment to their King by taking up Arms in the first Provincial Corps that were formed.

The Emigrants from Ireland were in general to be looked upon as our most serious Antagonists. They had fled from the real or fancied Oppression of their Landlords. But Bound of Persecution for the Acts which their Sense of that Oppression had occasioned, they had transplanted themselves into a Country where they could live without apprehension, and had estranged themselves from all Solicitude for the Welfare of Britain. From their Numbers, however, national Customs were kept up amongst

The Right Honorable
Lord George Germain

them,

REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS.

FACSIMILE OF FIRST PAGE OF A LETTER FROM GENERAL
SIR HENRY CLINTON, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ENGLISH ARMY
IN AMERICA, TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN, SECRETARY OF WAR.

to be put off by these continued failures and early in 1780 he caused to be distributed an "address to the American soldiers," in which he appealed especially to "the old countrymen" to desert, on the ground that they no longer had any grievances against England, since "the affairs of Ireland are fully settled." In a letter from Washington to the President of Congress on May 27, 1780, he enclosed what he described as "a small printed paper found in our camp, containing an address to our soldiers by the enemy to induce them to desert." This paper was read in Congress on May 31, 1780, and was as follows:

"The time is at length arrived, when all the artifices and falsehoods of the Congress and of your Commanders can no longer conceal from you, the misery of your situation; you are neither Clothed, Fed nor Paid; your numbers are wasting away by Sickness, Famine, Nakedness, and rapidly so by the period of your stipulated Services being in general expired. This is then the moment to fly from slavery and fraud. I am happy in acquainting the old countrymen that the affairs of Ireland are fully settled and that Great Britain and Ireland are firmly united, as well from interest as from affection. I need not tell you who are born in America, that you have been cheated and abused, and you are both sensible that in order to procure your liberty you must quit your leaders and join your real friends who scorn to impose upon you and who will receive you with open arms, kindly forgiving all your errors. You are told that you are surrounded by a numerous militia. This is also false; associate them together, make use of your firelocks and join the British Army, where you will be permitted to dispose of yourselves as you please."

To the American command, the disquieting feature of this insidious document was, that it stated the truth as to the condition of the American army at that time.

Ill clad and ill fed, the soldiers had passed through the previous winter without a penny of their pay and with little prospect of any in sight the commissariat, "reduced to an extremity for want of provisions," was helpless to supply their wants; a large number of the people were insensible to their sufferings; the patience of the men was fast becoming exhausted and the general dissatisfaction in the ranks at length resulted in a revolt among a large part of these soldiers of freedom. Of all this, Clinton was aware and in distributing this document, he took advantage of what he thought was the psychological moment to shake the morale of the American troops, especially of those who were natives of "the old country."

It cannot be supposed that these various English witnesses, as well as Generals Robertson and Lee, who were on the ground throughout the struggle, and who, having come in contact with Washington's army, learned to know the character, racial and otherwise, of its personnel, could all have been mistaken. The statement of each was made independently of the others and all under different circumstances, and those who now make an impartial study of this testimony must assuredly admit that the Irish were an important part of the Army of Liberty. I have read statements of American historians that "the Irish showed no disposition to warm up to the cause," that "they remained indifferent to what was going on around them," and one well-known historian, still living, who has occupied the highest place in the gift of the American people, has said that "the Irish were for the most part heartily loyal" to England, and

that the Revolutionary war was "a conflict between men of the same race and blood." I am wondering if he will be willing now to modify his views when he reads such a statement as that of Sir Henry Clinton, which proves absolutely "the claims of the Irish."

A significant feature of General Robertson's testimony will be noted from the reproduction of page 50 of the book referred to, where he said: "The loyal Americans consisted of corps, some of them mostly composed of native Americans, some mostly composed of emigrants from Great Britain, Ireland, and other parts of Europe," and on the same page he states that the loyalists were "more numerous" than the "rebels," and that "two-thirds of the people" of America during the Revolution were loyal to the crown. In these statements we find the answer to a question raised in the United States Senate on July 25, 1916, during a debate on Senator James A. O'Gorman's resolution urging clemency for the ill-fated Sir Roger Casement. Senator O'Gorman, in speaking to the resolution, called attention to the debt that America owes to Ireland in return for the services rendered by Irish soldiers in the War of the Revolution. Two of his fellow Senators disputed the statement and retorted by asking, "If it be accepted as a fact that fifty per cent. of the Continental troops were Irish, and if other races were given the credit which is claimed in their behalf, were there any Americans fighting in the Continental army?" Senator O'Gorman replied by informing his interrogators of the large number of Americans who were in the employ of the British army, and that, if by "Americans" of that time they

meant immigrants of English ancestry, "the record shows that four-fifths of all the inhabitants of America during that period boasting of English ancestry remained loyalists and were the Tories of the Revolution." We see from the evidence now adduced that Senator O'Gorman was not far out in his reckoning, for General Robertson testified that "two-thirds of the Americans" remained loyal, and Galloway said that "many more than four-fifths of the people would prefer an union with Great Britain upon constitutional principles to that of independence."

In so far as the Irish in America were concerned, General Robertson's testimony goes to show that, to a certain extent, they, too, were divided on the question of separation from England. We have always had "loyal Irishmen." There are some of them to-day in Ireland, and they are, and always have been, the class of men who have retarded the political aspirations of their more enlightened countrymen, and who look upon a possible separation from England as a calamity not to be endured. From time immemorial, men have been divided on political questions, even those affecting the best interests of their own country. And as it was in Ireland, so it was in America. While there is nothing on record to indicate what proportion of the American Irish were loyal to the crown, they were unquestionably of little moment; but no matter what their numbers may have been, their strength and influence were overwhelmingly nullified by the large numbers of their countrymen who enlisted under the banner of Washington and fought and suffered in the cause of American liberty.

Various authorities say that upward of thirty thousand loyalists fled to Canada during the first few years of the war.¹³ All through the Revolution they were leaving the country by thousands, and it has been estimated that "even up to one hundred thousand of them left with Sir Guy Carleton when he evacuated New York."¹⁴ So numerous were the English loyalists who returned direct to England in the year 1775, that the question of providing for them became a serious one in that country. Writing in his Diary under date of March 2, 1776, Thomas Hutchinson, the last royal governor of Massachusetts, said: "The refugees from America, scared from their ruined homes, had taken flight across the Atlantic, and were pitching down upon England like rooks upon a corn-field to see what grain they could pick up; but so numerous were the flocks becoming, that the custodians of the granaries in the old country had great difficulty in finding a few grains each for all the hungry mouths."¹⁵ Sabine¹⁶ mentions by name, all told, 4,542 loyalists among those who took refuge in the Canadian provinces, and of this number I find 251 Irish

¹³ See *The Loyalists of America and their Times*, by Egerton Ryerson, Vol. I, p. 184; Toronto, 1880.

¹⁴ Sidney George Fisher, *The True History of the American Revolution*, p. 234; Philadelphia, 1902. See also *New York in the Revolution*, by Justice Thomas Jones, Vol. II, p. 504.

¹⁵ *Diary and Letters of his Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., Captain-General and Governor in Chief of His late Majesty's Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, compiled from original documents by Peter Orlando Hutchinson, Vol. II, p. 286; Boston, 1886.

¹⁶ *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, by Lorenzo Sabine, Vol. I, pp. 70-71; Boston, 1864.

or of Irish descent and the remainder English, with some scattering French, German, and Dutch; so that, assuming that this proportion prevailed throughout, it appears that not less than ninety per cent. of the loyalists who deserted the country in her hour of trial were of English descent. Sabine further says: "It may not be possible to ascertain the number of loyalists who took up arms, but from the best evidence I have been able to obtain, I conclude that there were at the lowest computation 25,000 Americans who took up arms against their country and in aid of England."

Sabine admits that this estimate of the number of loyalists who joined the King's forces was "far too low," judging by the large numbers of them recorded among the killed and wounded. He states that in the battles and skirmishes fought chiefly in the South, "more than six thousand Tories were killed," and "at the time of Cornwallis' surrender, a portion of his army was composed of native Americans and his Lordship evinced great anxiety for their protection." In an address presented to the King in London in 1779, it was said that their countrymen then in His Majesty's army "exceeded in number the troops enlisted [by Congress] to oppose them, exclusive of those who were in the service in private ships of war,"¹⁷ and in a similar document addressed to the King and Parliament in 1782, it was asserted that "there are many more men in his Majes-

¹⁷ According to Wharton's *Diplomatic Correspondence* (Vol. I, p. 86), more than seven thousand American loyalists served in English privateers during the Revolution.

ty's Provincial regiments than there are in the Continental service." ¹⁸

Such statements, combined with those of Galloway, Robertson, and other English officers, must come as a great shock to those who like to believe, as they have been told by historians, that the Revolutionary conflict was "a contest between brothers," and that "the combatants were of the same race and blood," meaning by these assertions that the soldiers who won our independence were generally English or of English origin. I imagine that the historians who claim that the soldiers of the Revolution were "mainly of English blood" arrived at that conclusion by the same strange method of reasoning that has led them to say that the pioneer settlers of this country were chiefly English, for they included under the head of "English" all immigrants of the Colonial period who embarked at English or Irish ports, regardless entirely of the places of their nativity or their racial origin.

¹⁸ Wharton, Vol. I, p. 72. General Sir Henry Clinton reported to the English Minister that "there were in the King's service more American loyalists than there were rebels in Washington's army." (See *Memoirs of the Marshal Count de Rochambeau relative to the War of Independence*, p. 52; Paris, 1838.)

CHAPTER VIII

IRISH NAMES IN AMERICAN MUSTER-ROLLS

Facts furnished by American records in support of the testimony of Galloway, Robertson, Clinton, Serle, and other English officers. The muster-rolls of the Continental Army. Changes in Irish surnames. Some examples of the racial composition of American regiments. In some units the Irish proportion was as high as seventy-five per cent. The average Irish proportion was thirty-eight per cent.

AFTER all that has been written on the subject of the American Revolution, tending to show that the participants on both sides were mainly of English blood, there is a large class of Americans who will not be convinced of the fact that much of the real truth of history has been suppressed by historians, and that among the fighting forces that achieved the liberties of this country were representatives of several European races. And, above all, they will not believe that any injustice has been done to those of Irish blood who contributed so much to that glorious end.

Many students of American history, therefore, will claim that neither the statement of Galloway nor that of Robertson furnishes conclusive evidence on the question of the racial composition of the Revolutionary army, and the onus of proving the case is thus thrown on those who have brought into the "court of public opinion" nothing more than this unsupported testimony. That

the Beginning there has been a Reluctance in the Natives to
concur in entering into the Regular Service of the Rebellion. They
have been forced out on the Militia by heavy fines for a few
Months only. The English Scotch and Irish, by far the most
part of the latter have principally composed the Rebel Regiments
Army. That the Number of them are now reduced to a few, either
by Sickness or Desertion. To which I may add that the Congress
have lately very imprudently adopted a Measure which will
in the End be very inadequate to their Expectations and ramp

REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

FACSIMILE OF PART OF A LETTER FROM JOSEPH GALLOWAY TO
LORD GEORGE GERMAIN, DATED PHILADELPHIA, MARCH 4, 1778.

I speak my heart out upon uncertain conjectures
concerning the honest disposition of the ministers in general
My belief however is in favour of the most virtuous parts of the
middle colonies as well as the back settlements, and such as may
be depended on — The rest of the American of the nation
as far as is to the present settlement, there is not one in ten
who will be a competent scholar English, Scotch or Irish, but
of the the greater number of Irish.

REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVING

FACSIMILE OF PART OF A LETTER FROM JOSEPH GALLOWAY TO
LORD GEORGE GERMAIN, DATED PHILADELPHIA, JANUARY 23 AND 31, 1778.

point of view would be entirely natural under the circumstances, and it is one that must be met. Indeed, it is a perfectly fair position to take by persons who have no other means of information than the standard histories of the United States, for each item of historical evidence that comes to us must be sifted carefully so as not to give it more weight than it is fairly entitled to. But while the testimony of Galloway and Robertson is subject to scrutiny, it is not, as some assert, to be rejected entirely, for there is no reason for supposing that these witnesses had any ulterior motive in so testifying and thus giving the Irish a place in American history to which they were not entitled.

It will not do to say merely that Galloway, Robertson, and Lee were contemporary witnesses of the events of the time, nor that, from the nature of the case, they were impartial and competent witnesses, and that on this account their testimony should be acceptable to all. For it is obvious that Galloway's "about one-half" could only have been an estimate based on his observations prior to and during the first three years of the war; and while General Lee had perfectly good grounds, as I shall later show, for "believing" that "half the rebel army was from Ireland," yet it will be pointed out that Lee's statement to Robertson, after all, was nothing more tangible than an expression of his "belief." Further proof than this will be demanded, and such proof must come from some other source,—such, for example, as the muster-rolls of the Revolutionary army.

Obviously, the solution of the question must begin there, but any person who undertakes the task of

furnishing proof from this source that will be universally satisfactory, that "one-half" the American army were Irish, will have a very difficult problem on his hands. It is true that the muster-rolls, or most of them, of the regiments which comprised the Continental army and the militia are on file at the War Department, and for those who cannot examine the originals, official copies are available at leading libraries and historical societies. Independently of the testimony furnished to us by Galloway, Robertson, Clinton, Pell, Serle, and other English officers, I have devoted much time to an examination of the muster-rolls in an effort to determine the proportion of Irish who served in the Revolution, but find in the names of the men and the lack of detail as to their antecedents or nationality what seems to be an insuperable difficulty.

With the Continental Line, in some cases, the captains or recruiting officers took down the "nativity" of each man, in addition to such particulars as his name, age, occupation, residence, and the date and period of enlistment. But there were other bodies of armed men, such as local militia, "partisan" soldiers, and frontier fighters, who, while not subject to the same discipline as the soldiers of the "Line," rendered valuable service throughout the war, especially in warding off attacks by Indians and Tories, protecting the settlements, and guarding supply trains. But in most of these cases the rosters are incomplete, and in many cases they are missing altogether, and the nativity of the men, as a general rule, was not recorded. Besides this, cases are noted where a man would enlist for, say, "three months" or

thereabouts, and after his discharge, perhaps after the lapse of several months, the same man would return and his name would reappear on the roster of an entirely different regiment. One of the difficulties referred to will be understood at once when this point is fully considered.

But it is in the *names* of the men that the greatest obstacle is found. In the regimental muster-rolls and in ante-Revolutionary records many natives of Ireland bearing non-Irish names are recorded,—such, for instance, as those formed after colors, like White, Black, Brown, and Gray; or occupations, as Butler, Steward, Clarke, Mason, Hunter, Miller, Carpenter, and Smith; or names like Rivers, Mountain, Stone, Steele, Wood, and various other forms; and it is known that numbers of Revolutionary soldiers of those or similarly formed names, whose places of nativity were *not* recorded, were Irish. There are some who may be inclined to dispute the propriety of classifying people bearing such names as “Irish,” or, at any rate, who will claim that even if they were born in Ireland, they should be classified as “Anglo-Irish” or “Scotch-Irish,” thus by implication denying to the plain “Irish” the credit of furnishing such soldiers to the Revolutionary cause. But on that point we know there has always been a great deal of misunderstanding on the part of people unacquainted with the history of Ireland. For there are numerous Irish families so named who are just as Celtic in blood and origin and ideals as any bearing the old clan names with the familiar prefix “O” or “Mac.”

American historians, as a rule, do not understand this;

so, in the absence of knowledge as to the origin of the names of many of the immigrants, they invariably wrote them down as "English," as long as the names were of apparently English sound or formation. Other historians did not make any distinction at all, even where the nationality was known, and all through their work they display total ignorance of the racial distinctions that exist between Englishmen and natives of other countries under English rule. Indeed, only a short time ago I heard a college professor dilating upon this subject, and he made the bald assertion that "all people under the English flag, regardless of race or color, are necessarily English"!

The fact that many Irish families bear names of other than Irish origin has been explained so often by accurate and scrupulous antiquarians, that it is only necessary to refer here to those acts of the English Parliament by which certain Irish families were forced to change their names. In the reigns of the Henrys and Edwards, many penal acts of Parliament were passed compelling the ancient Irish families to adopt English surnames and the English language, dress, manners, and customs. While these statutes could be enforced only within that part of Ireland called "The Pale," that is, within the then military jurisdiction of England, it is known that many of the Milesian Irish in those times took English surnames to protect their lives and estates, as otherwise they forfeited their properties and were liable to be punished as Irish enemies. In the quaint language of the time, and in the usual spirit exhibited by English writers toward the Irish, Edmund Spenser, author of

The Faerie Queen, in his *View of the State of Ireland* thus refers to one of these acts of the English Parliament:

“For the better breaking of these [Irish] heads and septs, which was one of the greatest strengthes of the Irish, mee thinks it should bee very well to renewe that ould statute which was made in the raigne of Edward the Fourth in Ireland, by which it was commaunded, that whereas all men then used to be called by the name of their septs, according to the severall nations, and had no surnames at all, that from thenceforth each one should take upon himselfe a severall surname, either of his trade or facultie or of some quality of his body or minde; or of the place where he dwelt, so as every one should be distinguished from the other, or from the most part whereby they shall not onely depend upon the head of their sept, as now they do, but also in time learne quite to forget his Irish nation. And herewithall would I also with all the O’s and the Mac’s which the heads of septs have taken to their names, to bee utterly forbidden and extinguished. For that the same an ordinance first made by O’Brien for the strengthening of the Irish and abrogating thereof will as much enfeeble them.”

The act referred to by Spenser, which was passed in the fifth year of the reign of Edward IV, specifically mentioned the counties comprising “The Pale,” and reads as follows:

“At the request of the Commons, it is ordeyned and established by authority of the said Parliament that every Irishman that dwells betwixt or amongst Englishmen in the County of Dublin, Myeth, Uriell and Killdare shall goe like to one Englishman in apparell, and shaving off his beard above the mouth, and shall be within one yeare sworne the liegeman of the King in the hands of the lieutenant or deputy, or such as he will assigne to receive this oath for the multitude that is to be sworne, and shall take to him an English surname of one towne as Sutton, Chester, Trym, Skryne, Corke, Kinsale, or colour, as White, Blacke, Brown, or arte, or science,

as Smith, or Carpenter, or office, as Cooke or Butler, and that he and his issue shall use this name under payne of forfeyting of his goods yearely till the premises be done, to be levied two times by the yeare to the King's warres according to the discretion of the lieutenant of the King or His Deputy." ¹

Thus it is seen that the Irish who came within the purview of this act were compelled to change their names arbitrarily and adopt English names. Some families Anglicized their names by the simple dropping of a prefix or an affix, or by the transposition of letters or syllables, but a great many effected the change by a literal translation of their names into what they meant in English. Herein we find an explanation of the Irish origin of certain distinguished men in America in Colonial and Revolutionary times. For example, James Smith, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, who commanded a regiment of the Pennsylvania Line in the Revolutionary War, was a native of Dublin, Ireland. He was descended from a family named MacGowan in County Meath. In the Irish language, "Mac" means "the son of" or "descendant," and "Gow" means a "smith" or "blacksmith," and under the operation of the English laws referred to, the branch of the MacGowans from which James Smith sprang changed their name to "Smith." It is known also that Sir William Johnson, Governor of the Indians from the Hudson to the Mississippi River, was descended from the Irish family of MacShane. This name means literally "the son of John," from "Mac" and "Shane," Irish for "John."

¹ *Rot. Parl.* ca. 16.

Sir William Johnson was also a native of County Meath, Ireland.

Some very strange name transformations were brought about in this way, and a striking instance of this is the name Whitcomb. This is an English name, but there is also an Irish family of Whitcombs, descended from the Kirwans or MacKirwans, a branch of this family, under compulsion, having translated the name into what the Irish words from which Kirwan was derived mean in English. The name Kirwan is derived from the two Gaelic words, *cior bhan* (pronounced *keer waun*) meaning literally a "white comb," i.e., a man with a white tuft of hair on his head. But the name "Whitecomb" was not euphonious, so at some period or other they dropped the "e" and called themselves "Whitcomb." On the other hand, MacTiernan, which means "the son of the master," became "Masterson"; some of the O'Neills and MacNeills became "Neilson"; the O'Donnells and MacDonnells, "Donelson"; MacFergus, "Ferguson," and so on, these changes being but literal translations from the originals. We can also see how simple it was for the ancient O'Heas to change their name to "Hayes"; the O'Culliens or O'Culanes, to "Collins"; the O'Neachtan or O'Naghten family, to "Norton"; the O'Creehans, to "Creighton," and the O'Clerys, to "Clarke," for in the Irish language O'Clery means literally "the grandson of a clerk" or of some person who occupied the position of secretary or amanuensis. Likewise, the Irish name, O'Knavin, meaning literally a "small bone," in some instances became "Bowen"; O'Muloghery, signifying in Gaelic "early rising," be-

came "Early"; MacRory became "Rogers," because "Roger" was assumed to be the English Christian name corresponding to the Irish "Rory." The Irish family of Ford derived their name from the original MacConnava, on the erroneous assumption that "ava," the final syllable of the name, meant a "ford," and in the same way the Irish family of "King" formed their name from the original MacConry, on the assumption that the "ry" is derived from "righ," a king.

Numerous similar instances can be quoted, and those who may be interested further in the subject are referred to the Topographical Index in Dr. Geoffrey Keating's *History of Ireland* (written in 1618), as translated from the original Gaelic manuscripts by John O'Mahony, and to such genealogical works as John O'Hart's *Irish Pedigrees* and Dr. John O'Donovan's well-known work, *Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, published by the Irish Archæological Society.

An illustration of the difficulty in determining the number of Irish soldiers listed on the rolls, in those cases where the "nativity" of the recruits was not taken down, is the following company muster-roll from Colonel William Thompson's regiment of South Carolina Rangers in 1775. Among the names of the enlisted men, besides a number bearing obvious Irish names, who were recorded by the recruiting officers as having been "born in Ireland," I find:

James Brown	Richard Brown	Alexander Gaston
John Bell	Peter Burns	John Hunter
William Boyd	James Davin	Andrew Hannah
James Buchanan	Hugh Gaston	William Harbison

Thomas Jackson	John McLain	John Warnock
Robert Martin	William McGraw	Michael Warnock
John Montgomery	Andrew McElvene	William Wilson
Thomas Miller	John Russell	Thomas Wood
James McElwee	Jeremiah Simmons	Robert White
Dennis McCarty	John Steel	Henry Wyley
	John Surginer	

There are several on this roster whom one would never suppose from their names were natives of Ireland, if the fact were not so stated. In addition to these there were in the regiment, some in the same company as the above, enlisted men named Burke, Boyle, McGuire, Farrell, Gill, Cochran, Welch, Lynch, Laferty, Monaghan, Hogan, McGlahan, Sexton, Duggin, two Connors, two Murphys, three McDaniels, three McGraws, three McMahons, and four McKinneys, the places of whose nativity were not taken down, and a pay-roll of the same regiment in 1779 contained such names as Connors, Demsey, Gillen, McCafferty, McCune, McCabe, Hayes, Crowley, Mulherrin, McDowall, McCormack, Powers, McGee, Dogherty, McRoy, Kelley, O'Harra, and O'Neal.

Another illustration of the same point is the following roll from Colonel Thomas Proctor's regiment of Pennsylvania artillery as it stood in 1779. Among those recorded as "born in Ireland" were:

Officers:

Thomas Proctor, Colonel	William Adams, Surgeon
Nathaniel Maguire, Major	Thomas Douglass, Lieutenant
Patrick Duffey, Captain	Robert McConnell, Lieutenant
Isaac Craig, Captain	

Gunners:

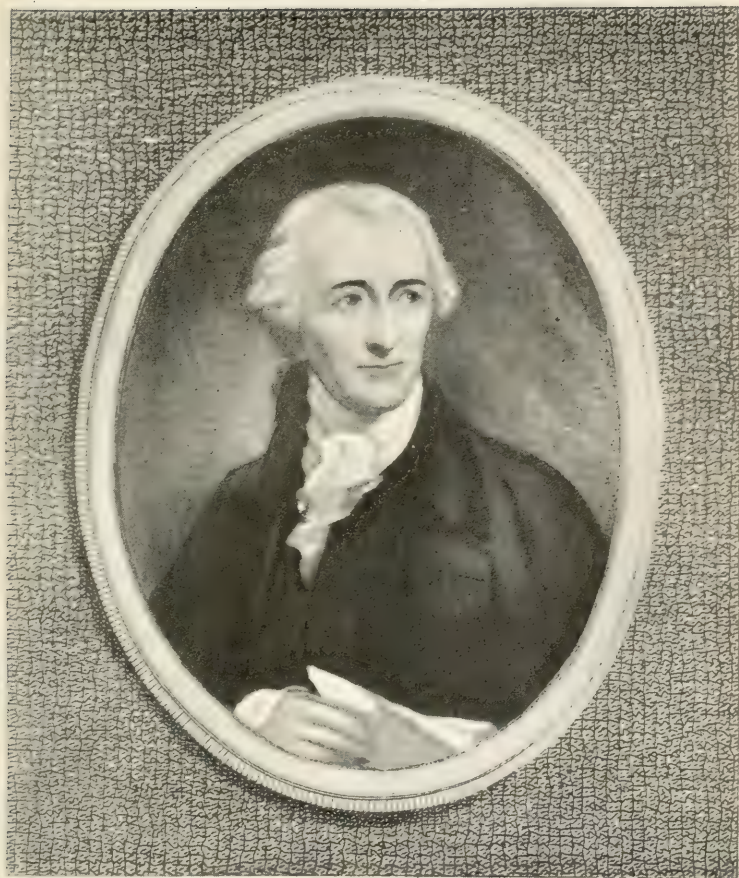
James Fitzsimmons	Daniel Fennell
Patrick Smith	Michael McNulty
Thomas Jennings	Thomas Mayberry
William Hayes	Thomas Tweedy
William Hannah	John Cooney

Matrosses:

James Barns	John Nugent	William McMullen
Thomas Dunlap	Michael Joyce	Hugh McDonald
Timothy Lane	Robert McNeal	Henry Lose
William Blair	James Gill	Edward Callahan
Barry Cunningham	John Redmond	John Dunn
"Patt" Crawford	John Carter	Christopher McDonald
David Reed	"Patt" Gough	William McMahon
Thomas Mullen	William Mayberry	Thomas Johnson
William McCoombs	Michael Bowers	Thomas McCook
William Crowley	Robert Young	"Patt" Dever
William Mooney	Edward Toole	Thomas Lane
John Moloney	William Talbott	"Archey" Hannah

Richard McEvitt, Sergeant	James Grimes, Corporal
F. Donnelly, Sergeant	John Molony, Clerk
James Patterson, Q.M. Sergeant	Michael Thurston, Musician
George Henderson, Sergeant	William Norton, D. M.
William Clark, Corporal	John Stafford, Bombardier
Robert Davidson, Corporal	Henry Gavan, Bombardier
William McMullen, Corporal	George Chase, Drummer.

Of these sixty-seven officers and men, only twenty-two of them named the parts of Ireland whence they came, and among the counties represented are Armagh, Antrim, Cork, Dublin, Down, Derry, Fermanagh, Galway, Kerry, Limerick, Longford, Meath, Tyrone, and Waterford. So we may assume that Ireland



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GEORGE READ

SIGNER OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, SON OF JOHN READ OF DUBLIN, IRELAND.

as a whole was fairly well represented among Proctor's artillerymen, for the colonel was from Longford, the major from Fermanagh, the surgeon from Dublin, one captain was from Munster and another from Ulster. Other enlisted men in the regiment at this time were named Farrell, Fegan, Gibbons, Daly, McCoy, Murphy, Connelly, and Mahony, recorded as "born in America," and before the close of the war several other natives of Ireland appear on the rolls. Of the entire regiment, forty per cent. were Irish, forty per cent. native Americans, eleven per cent. Germans, five per cent. English, two per cent. Scotch, and one per cent. each Welsh and Canadians.²

In the *State Archives*, especially those of Pennsylvania and the Southern States, may be found lists of men recruited for the various regiments, also pay-rolls, company rosters, bounty warrants, and various "returns" by company commanders, and these lists in some

² Proctor's Artillery was one of the most effective units of the Continental army and had the distinction of being the first artillery regiment raised in Pennsylvania. It distinguished itself in several engagements, especially at Fort Washington, New York, November 16, 1776. It was here that the Irishwoman Margaret Corbin (née Cockran) immortalized herself by taking her fallen husband's place and serving the gun until severely wounded. This Irishwoman had the distinction of being the first of her sex to receive a pension from the government of the United States for services in the War of the Revolution. See description of this heroine's career in *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, Vol. XIV, and in the publications of the *American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society*. Next to General Knox, Colonel Proctor was the most dis-

cases refer to the "country of nativity" of the men. For example, in the *Delaware Archives*³ there are copies of thirty-eight returns made in 1780 by recruiting officers for Colonel Henry Neill's Delaware Regiment. In all these cases the nativity of the men was recorded, and of these exactly one-half are down as "Irishmen." From the names of some of these men, which follow, one would never suppose them to have been Irish:

Edward Delany	Patrick Connelly
John Ryrns	Andrew Crawson
Robert Kennedy	John Rodgers
John Gass	Angus Martin
John Devan	Mark Lego
John Russell	Andrew Cunningham
Alexander Patten	James Lilley
Cornelius Lary	Robert Caskey
Joseph McDowell	Samuel McIntire

James Musgrove

In a "Muster-Roll of Men raised in Orange and Ulster Counties, New York, in July, 1775, for the Companies commanded by Captains Denton, Johnston, and Hasbrouck of the Third Regiment of the Continental

tinguished artillery officer in the Revolution. In 1790 he became a member of the Hibernian Society and of the Society of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick of Philadelphia. He was satirized by Major André in his famous poem, "The Cow Chace":

"Sons of distant Delaware
And still remoter Shannon,
And Major Lee with honor rare,
And Proctor with his cannon."

³ Vol. 1

Army,"⁴ the following soldiers are recorded as "born in Ireland":

Stephen Dunn	John McVay
Connelly Ferran ⁵	Edward Cone
Cain Mahony	Edward Warren
Samuel Early	David Condun
Richard Dean	John Steurt
James Howard ⁵	Thomas Alver
William Little	Thomas Hart ⁵
John Hickey	Owen Madden ⁵
Daniel Clansy	Alexander Lemmon
Alexander Richardson	Thomas Sharkey
William Anderson	John McOwen
Samuel Reed	James McDonald
James Gillaspy	John Cilly
John King	James Foran
John Harden	Barney Fitsammons
John Hennessee	

Among the troops enlisted for the Rhode Island regiments of the Continental Line similar instances are found, such as the following list of soldiers recruited at Providence and Newport, all of whom are recorded as natives of Ireland:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Place of Birth</i>	<i>Recruited for</i>
James Bishop	Dublin, Ireland	Col. Thomas Church's Regiment
William Parker	Waterford, Ireland	ditto
John Wilson	Kilkenny, Ireland	ditto
Dennis Hogan	Limerick, Ireland	ditto
Tobias Burk	Limerick, Ireland	ditto

⁴ *New York State Archives*, compiled by Berthold Fernow, Vol. I, pp. 166-167 and 170-171.

⁵ It is of interest to note that these men, Ferran, Hart, Howard, and Madden, were schoolmasters in Orange County.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Place of Birth</i>	<i>Recruited for</i>
William Crou	Waterford, Ireland	Col. Thomas Church's Regiment
Philip Doolinty	Kileaney, Ireland	ditto
Peter Morrison	Ireland	Col. Israel Angell's Regiment
James Madden	Ireland	ditto
John Mahony	Ireland	ditto
John Burk	Ireland	ditto
John McClanen	Ireland	ditto
Peter Nagle	Ireland	ditto
Edward Murfey	Ireland	ditto
James McCashe	Ireland	Col. Crary's Regiment
Charles McAfferty	Londonderry, Ireland	Col. Greene's Regiment
Daniel Monks	Ireland	Newport Company
Edward Fitzgerald	Tipperary, Ireland	ditto
Michael Killey	Limerick, Ireland	ditto
Lawrence McLouth	Ireland	Col. Crary's Regiment
Daniel Miller	Ireland	Providence Company
John Smith	Ireland	ditto
Charles Watson	Ireland	ditto
James Foster	Dublin, Ireland	ditto
John Huzzy	Armagh, Ireland	ditto
Michael Wright	Mountmellick, Ireland	ditto
Mark Barns	Waterford, Ireland	ditto
Andrew Boyd	Antrim, Ireland	ditto
James Hayes	Cork, Ireland	ditto
Cornelius Driskell	Kinsale, Ireland	ditto
James King	Dublin, Ireland	ditto
Matthew Hendley	Limerick, Ireland	ditto
Peter Burns	Ireland	ditto
Michael Doharty	Donegal, Ireland	ditto

These examples are similar to many others I have found, and they will probably help to make clear my previous statement as to the difficulties encountered in any effort to determine the exact number of Irishmen

or their sons whose names appear on the muster-rolls of the Revolutionary army. Among a vast number of names of "immigrants from Ireland" during the Colonial period that I have collected from various original sources, I have noted many names which were derived in the manner just described; in fact, the Colonial Records contain some of the strangest "Irish" names imaginable, and there cannot be the slightest question that a number of those Irish immigrants or their sons joined the Revolutionary forces; but where the country of their nativity was *not* taken down, it is obviously impossible now to say what proportion of them were Irish.

In this connection, an important fact that cannot be overlooked is that much of the warfare in the frontier States was of the guerrilla order, in which the patriots had to contend not only with the British regulars, but with organized bands of Tories and their savage allies. In the border States, especially in Pennsylvania and the Carolinas, bodies of so-called "partisans" were formed who held themselves in readiness for any emergency, and who divided their time between battling with the country's enemies, defending their homes and families, tilling the soil, or reaping the harvest, but whose rifles were at all times at the service of the country. I have noticed numerous cases where the names of these partisan fighters do not appear among the "enlisted men" of their localities; and as we have unquestionable proof that many of the Irish who came over a few years before the outbreak of the war settled on the frontiers, we can safely conclude that a good percentage of these partisan bodies were composed of Irishmen and their

sons. There appears to be nothing left for us, therefore, but to determine what percentage the soldiers who were recorded as natives of Ireland, and those who, while not so recorded, had unmistakably Irish names, bear to the total number of enlistments.

Even in this apparently simple proposition we encounter some difficulty. Many of the men—that is, those who reënlisted—are recorded more than once; and as this applies to native Americans as well as to Europeans of racial origins other than Irish, I have not made any calculation as to the ratio of Irish names or those of other races so recorded. In the absence of exact figures under this head, I have assumed that these ratios were about the same, although in doing so I know I am not giving full credit to the Irish element, for there is plenty of evidence to show that the Irish were among the most eager of all to enter the fight.

I have not examined all of the muster-rolls, but have selected a number indiscriminately from each of the original Thirteen Colonies. On the basis before explained, I have made a careful calculation, (1) by counting the total number of soldiers in each unit, and (2) by a separate count of those of undoubted Irish birth or descent. In some companies I find the extraordinarily high percentage of seventy-five per cent. Irish, while, on the other hand, it must be said that in other companies the percentage runs as low as ten, and in some New England regiments and some of those raised in the old Dutch districts of New York and the German settlements in Pennsylvania, no Irish names at all appear. But, on averaging them all up, I have determined that 35.83

per cent. of the soldiers of the Revolutionary army were Irish. To this must be added some small percentage for those of non-Irish names, and not recorded as Irish; and it is proper also to consider the Irish proportion of those scattering bodies not attached to the regiments of the Line. If we take the conservatively low figure of two per cent. as representing these elements, we arrive at a total of 37.83 per cent., or substantially thirty-eight per cent.

If I have erred at all in this method of computation, it is on the side of conservatism alone. But if thirty-eight per cent. be accepted as the correct proportion, we can at once understand how our three witnesses, Galloway, Robertson, and Lee, thought that "one-half" of the American army were Irish. For thirty-eight per cent. of enthusiastic sons of Ireland, enlisted in a fight against their hereditary enemy, assuredly would be enough to make any observer believe that easily "one-half" of the army were of the same class! And although historians of the time not only fail to give credit to the contribution of the Irish, but claim, some by positive assertion and others by implication, that the patriots of the Revolution were mainly of English descent, it must be admitted by all impartial readers that the percentage arrived at was extraordinarily large for a little country like Ireland. I cannot find where any of the historians have shown that they made a computation such as I have, and therefore I present these figures in partial support of the testimony given before the Parliamentary committee in 1779 by contemporary and unbiased witnesses.

As an illustration of the racial character of some of the regiments of the Pennsylvania Line, one has only to consult the names of the 506 non-commissioned officers and privates on the muster-rolls of the Seventh Regiment.⁶ The commanding officer of the regiment was Colonel William Irvine, a native of Enniskillen, County Fermanagh, Ireland, and its lieutenant-colonel in 1779 was Morgan Connor,—or O'Connor, as the name is sometimes spelled in the records,—who was a native of Kerry. This regiment took part in several bloody battles of the Revolution and on account of its losses in killed, wounded, and prisoners, it was much reduced in numbers toward the close of the war, and at the time these returns were made the total strength of the regiment was 802 enlisted men. Some few of the names on the official muster-rolls are more common among the Scotch than the Irish, and doubtless, these men were Irish-born descendants of Scotch settlers; but I have not excluded these names from the count, since the regiment was recruited in districts of Pennsylvania where the vast majority of the settlers were from Ireland, so there can be no doubt that the regiment as a whole was preponderatingly Irish. That this is a perfectly reasonable conclusion is seen from the numbers of Irishmen who are shown on some of the company rolls of the regiment. In only a few of the companies is the nativity of the men stated, and the following examples indicate the proportion of Irishmen in those companies:

⁶ See *Penna. Archives*, 5th Ser., Vol. III, pp. 205-301.



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GENERAL WILLIAM IRVINE

OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY, BORN IN COUNTY FERMANAGH, IRELAND.

<i>In Company commanded by</i>	<i>Percentage of natives of Ireland</i>
Captain John McDowell	76%
Captain Jeremiah Talbot	70%
Captain Samuel Montgomery	69%
Captain William Alexander	64%

In four companies of the Eleventh Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line the nativity of some of the men was recorded, and among the Europeans the proportions of men "born in Ireland," exclusive of several bearing Irish names who probably were native Americans, were:

<i>Company commanded by</i>	<i>Proportion of Irishmen</i>
Captain Andrew Walker	65%
Captain Isaac Sweeny	58%
Captain Henry Carberry	55%
Captain Jeremiah Jackson	40%

In other Pennsylvania companies, where the nativity of the men was not recorded, the following are the proportions of Irish names on the muster-rolls:

<i>Regiment</i>	<i>Company Commander</i>	<i>Percentage of Irish names</i>
Fifth	Captain Benjamin Bartholomew	56%
Fourth Penna.		
Battalion in 1776	Captain Persifor Frazer.....	45%
Fourth Penna.	Captain Thomas Church	46%
Battalion in 1776		
Magaw's Penna.		
Battalion in 1776	Captain John Richardson	53%
Sixth Penna.		
Battalion in 1776	Captain Samuel Hay	56%
Sixth Penna.		
Battalion in 1776	Captain McClane	50%

<i>Regiment</i>	<i>Company Commander</i>	<i>Percentage of Irish names</i>
Sixth Penna.		
Battalion in 1776	Captain James Wilson	40%
Sixth Penna.		
Battalion in 1776	Captain Robert Adams	50%
Sixth Penna.		
Battalion in 1776	Captain Abraham Smith	43%
Sixth Penna.		
Battalion in 1776	Captain Talbot	40%
Farmer's Penna. State Regiment in 1777	Captain Robert Gray	43%
Seventh	Captain Robert Wilson	68%
Seventh	Captain John Alexander	52%
Seventh	Captain Moses McLean	44%
St. Clair's Battalion	Captain Stephen Bayard	52%
Ninth	Captain Thomas B. Bowen	50%
Ninth	Captain John Erwin	43%
Tenth	Captain Robert Patton	40%
Eleventh	Captain Lawrence Keene	45%
Eleventh	Captain Edward Burke	33 $\frac{1}{3}$ %
Thirteenth	Captain Matthew Scott	56%

No doubt the majority of the men bearing Irish names listed in the rosters of these companies, were native Irishmen, so that, when we keep in mind the fact that there must have been a number of others bearing non-Irish names, we can readily conclude that the proportions of Irish in these companies were higher than the figures above shown. These companies belonged to the regular army of the Revolution, *i.e.*, the Continental Line, but similarly high percentages are found in some of the muster-rolls of the militia. For instance, in the *Pennsylvania Archives*⁷ there are copies of the "enlistment

⁷ 5th Series, Vol. VII, pp. 658-682.

papers" of seventy of the enlisted men of Captain John Boyd's regiment of militia raised in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1777. The following is an example of these "enlistment papers":

"I Patrick Connally, aged twenty-eight years, five feet seven inches high, sandy hair, fair complexion, born in Ireland, do voluntarily agree, to serve as a Substitute in the Room and Stead of Andrew Bird in the First Class of Captain John Slaymaker's Company of Colonel John Boyd's Regiment of Militia, in the County of Lancaster, for and in consideration of during the space of two months, as agreed with

"James Crawford,

"Sub-Lieutenant for the County of Lancaster.

"Witness my Hand, this Third day of September, 1777

his

"PATRICK X CONNALLY."

mark

Of the seventy men thus recorded, forty-eight were certified in the enlistment papers as having been "born in Ireland"; eighteen, "born in America"; three, "born in Germany"; and one, "born in Scotland," so that the Irish proportion of this entire roll was sixty-nine per cent. The chief significance of this is found in the fact that the majority of the residents of Lancaster County were Germans and that the muster-rolls of its militia regiments show a preponderance of Teutonic names, although it is probable that this particular regiment was raised in a section of the county where Irish settlements were established.

An illustration of the racial composition of the regiments of the Line is the following from a "Size Roll of

the First Pennsylvania Regiment of Foot," covering eight companies of the regiment:

Born in Ireland	315
“ “ America	218
“ “ England	66
“ “ Germany	51
“ “ Scotland	18
“ “ France	3
“ “ Holland	2
“ “ Wales	2
“ “ Canada	1
“ at sea	4
<hr/>	
Total	680

In the Eighth Company of Foot of Colonel David Hall's regiment, of the Delaware Line, twenty-eight men are recorded, of whom thirteen are down as "born in America," thirteen "born in Ireland," and two "born in England," or an Irish proportion of forty-six per cent.⁸

In the *Pennsylvania Archives* there are also copies of the rosters of the men who served on the ships of the Navy of the Revolution, and the following list shows the percentages of Irish names included in the year 1776:

<i>Name of Vessel</i>	<i>Percentages of Irish names</i>
<i>Terror</i>	69%
<i>Brimstone</i>	64%
<i>Burke</i>	55%
<i>Ranger Galley</i>	54%
<i>Effingham</i>	50%

⁸ *Delaware Archives*, Vol. II.

<i>Name of Vessel</i>	<i>Percentages of Irish names</i>
<i>Tormentor</i>	50%
<i>Experiment</i>	40%
<i>Bull Dog</i>	40%
<i>Montgomery</i>	40%
<i>Camden</i>	40%

Colonel Daniel Morgan's Regiment of Riflemen at all times had a goodly proportion of Irishmen in its ranks. This was, perhaps, the most famous regiment of the Continental Line and it distinguished itself on many of the Revolutionary battlefields. No complete muster of the regiment seems to be obtainable, but the following list shows its numerical strength and the Irish percentage of each company, as of November 30, 1778, at a time when it was much depleted in numbers:

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Irishmen</i>	<i>Irish Percentage</i>
Company No. 1.....	33	14	43%
Company No. 2.....	60	16	27%
Company No. 3.....	44	38	87%
Company No. 4.....	57	24	42%
Company No. 5.....	25	7	28%
Company No. 6.....	38	11	30%
Company No. 7.....	52	23	44%
Company No. 8.....	46	12	26%
Company No. 9.....	60	17	28%
<hr/>			
Total	415	162	39%

In the "Charleston, South Carolina, Volunteer Company of Rangers," organized in September, 1775, and in "Captain Heatley's Company of South Carolina Rangers," organized about the same time, exactly one-half the names were Irish; in "Captain William

McClaughlin's Company of the Colleton (S. C.) Regiment of Foot," in 1775, forty-three per cent. were Irish; in the second "Charleston Company of Foot," also recruited in 1775, the Irish proportion was forty per cent., and between June and November, 1775, the Irish proportion of the entire "First Regiment of Provincial Troops of South Carolina" was forty per cent. In Captain Purvis' Company of South Carolina Rangers, organized in 1775, fifty per cent. of the men were Irish.

To some units of the Maryland Artillery the Irish also furnished respectable proportions, as the following examples taken from the *Maryland Archives*⁹ will show:

<i>Company Roster in 1776</i>	<i>Total Enlisted strength</i>	<i>Born in Ireland</i>	<i>Proportion of Irishmen</i>
Captain Furnwall	46	26	57%
Captain Nathaniel Smith .	98	45	46%
Captain Nathan Smith . . .	102	42	42%

In only very few cases, comparatively, the places in Ireland whence the men came are recorded, but in those cases it is seen that various parts of Ireland were represented. For instance, the birthplaces of the forty-five Irishmen who enlisted in Captain Nathaniel Smith's company of Maryland Artillery were thus recorded:

Dublin	12
Cork	8
Ireland	8
North Ireland	5
Kerry	3
Armagh	2

⁹ Vol. XVIII.

West Ireland, Limerick, Munster, Athlone, Down, Leinster and Waterford one each	7
--	---

Total 45

In a similar "Enrollment of a Company of Matrosses for the Maryland Artillery," raised in the City of Baltimore in February, 1776, there was a total of 101 men. Of these, forty-seven were born in Ireland, thirty-seven in America, eight in England, five in Canada and two each in Germany and Scotland. The places of nativity of the forty-seven Irishmen are thus recorded in the muster-rolls:

Dublin	12
Ireland	9
Cork	7
Kerry	3
North of Ireland	3
Armagh	3
Antrim, Athlone, Tyrone, Limerick, Donegal, Wa- terford, Newry, Munster, Leinster and West of Ireland, one each	10

Total 47

It should not be assumed that these examples represent all of the data that are available as to the places of nativity of Irish soldiers of the Revolution; the records contain other similar examples, but it is not thought necessary to give all the details and in any event the repetition of statistical data does not usually appeal to

the average reader. In many cases the rolls which I have examined contain only the names of the men surviving at the close of the war, so that the names and places of nativity of those who were killed, wounded and taken prisoners and those mustered out during the war are not obtainable from these rolls. But in some of these instances, the remnants that are left of the company rosters contain the names of a number of soldiers who were Irish either by birth or descent, and it may also be remarked that where the men are recorded as "born in Ireland" the surnames plainly indicate a large representation of the old native stock. However, the fact should not be lost sight of that this does not apply to all of the muster-rolls, since several of them contain no Irish names at all.

In Captain William Dorsey's company of Maryland Artillery in 1778, the proportion of Irish names is fifty per cent.; in Captain Thomas Ewing's battalion of the Maryland "Flying Camp" in 1776, there were eighty men, of whom thirty-six are recorded as "born in Ireland," or an Irish proportion of forty-five per cent.; in "A representative List of Non-commissioned Officers and Soldiers" of the Sixth Maryland Regiment of the Line in 1778, the Irish names are seventy-five per cent. of the total; in a similar list of men raised for the Fifth Maryland Regiment in the same year, the Irish proportion is forty-five per cent., and in a later list of men of the same regiment they are sixty per cent. In a "Pay-roll of Captain Robert Harris' Company of the Sixth Maryland Regiment in 1776," the Irish names are sixty per cent. of the whole; in a "List of Voluntary Enlist-

ments for the Seventh Maryland Regiment on December 3, 1776," sixty-seven per cent. of the names are Irish, and in "A Return of Recruits raised in Harford County in 1780," exactly one-half of the names are Irish. Among "Enlistments in Baltimore, Cecil, and Harford Counties in July, 1776," I find

<i>Enrolled by</i>	<i>Proportions of Irish Names</i>
Captain William Reily	75%
Lieutenant Edward Tillard	75%
Lieutenant Andrew Porter	70%
Lieutenant Miles	60%
Captain Robert Morrow	50%
Ensign Lewis	47%
Lieutenant Hall	45%
Lieutenant Hollyday	44%

With many of the regiments it is not possible to determine the Irish proportion, because of the fact that the rolls are missing or incomplete, and this is true as much of regiments which were raised in those parts of the country where the Irish settled in large numbers as it is of those sections where they were comparatively few. It is known, for example, that Colonel Smallwood, of Maryland, recruited many Irishmen for his regiment, but, of its entire strength of twelve companies, a record of only five remains. On the rolls of these five companies there are 210 Irish names, or an average of forty-two to a company, and if this proportion prevailed throughout, we may assume that at least one-half of Smallwood's men were Irish or of Irish descent. "This famed regiment, composed of the flower of Maryland youth, both Catholic and Protestant, was

recruited principally in the Lower Counties and the Eastern Shore. It was the Tenth Legion of the American army, marched into Philadelphia in 1776 eleven hundred strong, was cut to pieces at the battle of Long Island, gallantly struggling for victory against an overwhelming foe, and at the close of the memorable campaign of 1776, at the battle of Princeton, mustered sixty men, commanded by Governor Stone, then a Captain; the prison ship and the grave had all the rest!" So wrote George Washington Parke Custis, the adopted son of General Washington.¹⁰

These illuminating facts, furnished to us by the official records, at once afford the impartial reader unimpeachable evidence that the Irish proportion of the American army of liberty was far greater than historians have been willing to admit, and enable him to understand why observers like Galloway, Robertson, and Lee concluded that "one-half" the army was Irish. If the complete muster-rolls were available, it is entirely probable that the percentage would prove to have been even higher than thirty-eight, because the States where their incompleteness is most apparent are Pennsylvania and the Southern States,—in other words, those sections of the country which attracted the greatest number of Irish immigrants, and where, naturally, the recruiting officers had a more extensive field from which to draw for the kind of fighting material most desirable for the warfare of the time. That this is not merely the personal opinion of the author is shown by the fact that

¹⁰ Letter dated June 10, 1855, to Revd. Charles White; in *Shea Collection*, Riggs Library, Georgetown College.

“although Pennsylvania furnished 4,500 troops for the so-called ‘Flying Camp,’ it has been impossible to find the names of more than 500 officers and men,”¹¹ and by the subjoined remarks by the compilers of the *Pennsylvania Archives*, in referring to the incompleteness of the rolls:

“This roll of the Pennsylvania Line falls far short of doing justice to the patriotism of Pennsylvania. It is, in fact, a mere roll of the Line as discharged in January, 1781. The hundreds who fell in all the battles of the Revolution, from Quebec to Charleston, are not here; the wounded, who dragged their torn limbs home to die in their native valleys, are not here. The heaths of New Jersey, from Paramus to Freehold, by a line encircling Morristown and Bound Brook, were, in the summer of 1777, dotted with the graves of the Eighth and Twelfth Pennsylvania. These regiments, from the frontier counties of the State, Westmoreland and Northumberland, were the first of the Line in the field, though they had to come from the banks of the Monongahela and the head-waters of the Susquehanna. At Brandywine the Pennsylvania troops lost heavily, the Eighth and Twelfth and Colonel Hartley’s additional regiment, in particular, in officers and men, and Colonel Patton’s additional regiment, after the battle of Germantown, could not maintain its regimental organization. We have no regimental returns of the regiments after they were reduced to six, January 1, 1781, and re-enlisted. These, with the rest of the records of the Pennsylvania Line, were placed beyond the reach of historical research by the fire¹² before alluded to, and the torch of the British in 1814.”¹³

¹¹ *Pennsylvania Archives*, 5th Ser., Vol. VII, p. 17.

¹² A fire which consumed the records of the War Department in the year 1800.

¹³ *Pennsylvania Archives*, 5th Ser., Vol. II, p. 562.

CHAPTER IX

THE FRIENDLY SONS OF SAINT PATRICK

Irishmen who sowed the seeds of Revolution. An Irishman saved General Washington from capture or assassination. The Irish schoolmasters mingled their teaching of the rudiments of learning with a sound American patriotism. Remarkable tribute to the Irish in the Revolution by Marquis de Chastellux, Major-General of Rochambeau's army. Lord Mountjoy declared "America was lost by Irish emigrants." Paul Jones and Ethan Allen mistaken for "Irishmen." Extracts from American newspapers. Annual celebrations of Saint Patrick's Day by the American troops. General Washington and other distinguished officers attended the banquets of the Society of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick.

THE idea prevails, and is much dwelt upon by New England historians, that the men who were most prominently identified with the outbreak of hostilities in 1775 were the instigators of the Revolution, or, at any rate, that its beginning was the destruction of the tea in Boston harbor the year before. To a large extent this is true, yet these men only gave concrete expression to the dream of independence which was cherished in the popular mind long before its national existence was clearly apparent. For revolutions are not born over night, and it is manifest that the sentiment of liberty was not a sudden inspiration of individual leaders, for it was already deep-seated and had vigorous roots in the minds of many of the Colonists who were opposed

to the political control and regulation of their affairs by a government three thousand miles away, whose interest in their welfare was measured only by the amount of revenue obtainable from its foreign possessions to support an oligarchy.

The pages that follow, on the subject of emigration from Ireland before the Revolution, prove beyond question that the Irish were here in large numbers, and local records show that in many places they formed little communities of their own, so that, before the country was in the throes of actual revolution, it is not surprising that their voices were heard amid the storm of discontent. It was natural for the Irish, already "rebels" at heart, to sympathize with their fellow Colonists, and in Pennsylvania especially they were in no way fearful of incurring the penalties of treason by proclaiming their opposition to the government. They were used to being called "rebels," and they gloried in the title. They had struggled for the freedom of their native land, and in the process of transplantation to America they lost none of their devotion to the eternal principles of liberty. They required no urging, and from the beginning there were no more ardent supporters of the "rebel" cause than the Irish and their American-born sons, for nothing could better stimulate their ardor or activity than the promise that a successful revolt in America would have a like result in Ireland.

The Stamp Act may be said to have been the first disturbing factor in the relations between England and her Colonies, and the agitation which sprang up after its passage intensified the feeling against England, and

we may be sure that in these circumstances the Irish element were not slow to add fuel to the smoldering fire, which may be the explanation for Mr. Lodge's statement that "the occupants of the jails of Pennsylvania were mainly the disorderly Irish"! The Irishmen who championed the Colonists in the English Parliament had their prototypes in America, and they were effective propagandists. In voicing the complaints of the Colonists, they were in their natural element from the beginning, and this is shown by the individual instances of Irishmen throughout the country who were active in the agitation which preceded the Revolutionary conflict. In New York we have the example of Hercules Mulligan, the man who prevailed upon Alexander Hamilton to join the organization of the "Sons of Liberty," and who, with William Mooney, Isaac Sears, and other citizens of New York, led in that famous act of disenthralment, the destruction of the statue of the English King on the 9th of July, 1776. Throughout the Revolution, with a faithfulness and zeal unequalled by any other American patriot, Hercules Mulligan served the immortal Washington in the city of New York as his chief source of information concerning the movements and intentions of the enemy forces, and on one occasion, at least, he saved the beloved patriot leader from capture and possible assassination by the enemy.¹ In Pennsyl-

¹ It was with Hercules Mulligan's family that Alexander Hamilton first made his home when he came to New York in 1772. After the British army took possession of the city in 1776, Hamilton induced Washington to appoint Mulligan "confidential correspondent to the Commander-in-chief," and he is known to have furnished Washington at various times with "most important military intelli-



REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

GEORGE BRYAN

PATRIOT OF THE REVOLUTION AND GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA,
BORN IN DUBLIN, IRELAND.

vania, the Irishman Charles Thomson was an active patriot long before opposition to Great Britain became popular in America, and his historic reply to the letter which Franklin wrote him from London on the very night the Stamp Act was passed, is to-day incorporated in American annals as one of the prophetic utterances of that historic time.² His countryman, George Bryan,³ "was among the earliest and most active and uniform

gence." Mulligan became a member of the Committee of One Hundred of the City of New York in 1775, and was also a member of the New York Revolutionary Committees of Correspondence and Observation, and in this work he was associated with the leading patriots of the city. On the morning of Evacuation Day, November 25, 1783, when the American army triumphantly entered the city, it is related that "Washington showed his approbation and respect for Mr. Mulligan by taking his first breakfast there with him." There are several excellent authorities for these statements, among them: *History of the Republic of the United States of America, as traced in the Writings of Alexander Hamilton*, by John C. Hamilton; *Life of Alexander Hamilton*, by the same author; *Life and Epoch of Alexander Hamilton*, by Chief Justice Shea of the New York Marine Court; *Narrative of Hercules Mulligan*, the original of which is among the *Papers of Major-General Alexander Hamilton* at the Library of Congress; *Recollections and Private Memoirs of Washington*, by George Washington Parke Custis; *Life of Major John André*, by Winthrop Sargent, and the New York newspapers of the Revolutionary period.

² Franklin, in despair, wrote Thomson: "The sun of liberty is set, the Americans must now light up the candles of industry and economy," and Thomson replied that he "was apprehensive that other lights would be the consequence." Thomson was Secretary of the Continental Congress, and he occupied that post for so many years that he became known as "the perennial Secretary of Congress."

³ Bryan was born in Dublin in 1731. In 1788 he became Governor of Pennsylvania.

friends of the rights of man before the Revolutionary War. As a member of the Assembly of Pennsylvania and of the Congress of New York in 1765, and as a citizen he was conspicuous in opposition to the Stamp Act and other acts of British tyranny in America.”⁴

It is well known that there was no more fearless advocate of the cause of the Colonists than Charles Carroll of Carrollton, whose letters over the *nom de plume*, “The First Citizen,” spread like wildfire through the country and prepared the people for the Revolution which was to follow; and we have the authority of a Pennsylvania historian for the statement that John Dickinson of Delaware, famous as “the Penman of the Revolution,” caught his argumentative and convincing style of writing from his Irish tutor, William Killen.⁵ Matthew Lyon, “the Hampden of Congress,” was an unflinching champion of the rights of the Colonists;⁶ and in Connecticut we have the example of John McCurdy, the Irishman before mentioned, who, at great personal risk, published in New England the Virginia Resolutions of 1765 and the famous speech of Barré on the Stamp Act. In

⁴ From the inscription on George Bryan’s tombstone in the burial-ground of the Second Presbyterian Church at Philadelphia.

⁵ William Killen emigrated from Ireland in 1737. He taught schools in Delaware and Pennsylvania for several years, and in course of time became first Chancellor and Chief Justice of Delaware. (See *Biography of John Dickinson in Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*.)

⁶ Lyon was a native of Wicklow, Ireland, and emigrated to the Colonies in 1765. (See *Life of Matthew Lyon*, by J. Fairfax McLaughlin.)

South Carolina, William Thomson,⁷ afterward general in the Continental army, and brother of Charles Thomson, openly espoused the patriot cause; and the Rutledge brothers, John and Edward, were among the most intelligent exponents of the rights of the people in the days when the Revolution was only aborning. In Massachusetts, Thaddeus McCarty, of Worcester, for several years before the outbreak of the Revolution, was a powerful factor in moulding public opinion in the right direction;⁸ and no man of the time exercised a greater influence over the minds of New England youth, in inculcating the doctrine that "resistance to tyrants is obedience to God," than John Sullivan, the schoolmaster of Maine and New Hampshire. At a period when it required more than ordinary courage openly to oppose British interests in America, we find an Irishman, Captain Daniel Malcom of Boston, occupying a prominent position in the business and political life of that town and taking an active part in the agitation over the Stamp Act. Malcom was a trader and importer, and his store on Fleet Street, Boston, became "the resort of many of the more energetic of the patriots and a constant menace to the peace of the King's officers."⁹ Here the questions of the hour, which culminated in 1775 in the resort to arms, were discussed by Hancock, Adams,

⁷ Thomson was a native of Maghera, Ireland.

⁸ Thaddeus McCarty was a native of Boston and was a grandson of an Irish immigrant of the same name.

⁹ *The Story of the Irish in Boston*, by James B. Cullen; Boston, 1859.

Ward, Otis and other leading citizens, and that Malcom took part in these historic deliberations is indicated by the inscription on his tombstone in Copp's Hill burial-ground at Boston, which says: "He was a true son of Liberty, a Friend to the Publick, an Enemy to Oppression and one of the foremost in opposing the Revenue Acts of America." The statement of Drake,¹⁰ the New England antiquarian, that Malcom was an Irishman¹¹ is confirmed by the membership list of the Charitable Irish Society of Boston, of which he became a member in 1766 and during the next three years was its vice-president.¹²

James Duane of New York, William O'Bryan¹³ of Georgia, and Cornelius Harnett¹⁴ of North Carolina,

¹⁰ Samuel Gardner Drake, *The History and Antiquities of Boston*, p. 737; Boston, 1856.

¹¹ A new England historian, ignorant of the origin of the name, but supposing that Daniel Malcom was of Scotch descent, refers to him as "a Scotch-Irishman." As a baptismal name, Malcom is popular among the Scotch, but, as all Irish scholars know, the name had its origin in that of the celebrated Irish saint, Columbkil, being derived from the Gaelic words, *Maol* and *coluim*, literally "the disciple, or servant, or devotee of Saint Columbkil." See "Celtic Surnames" in *The Tongue of the Gael*, by Tomas O'Flannghaile, Dublin, 1907; also O'Hart's *Irish Pedigrees*, Vol. I, p. 391.

¹² The membership of the Charitable Irish Society was comprised of "gentlemen of the Irish Nation residing in Boston." The society was founded on Saint Patrick's Day in the year 1737.

¹³ William O'Bryan was known to the British as "the Rebel Treasurer of Georgia." He was one of the first patriots in that section of the country to suffer imprisonment for his pre-Revolutionary activities.

¹⁴ Cornelius Harnett was a native of Dublin, Ireland. He was a wealthy merchant at Cape Fear, took a prominent part in political

were all active patriots long before the shot was fired that was "heard around the world"; and while other Irishmen or sons of Irishmen may also be included in this galaxy of American patriots, the fact must not be overlooked that some of their countrymen, occupying more humble positions in society, were also active in preparing the way for the conflict with English power and arrogance which they knew was inevitable. As a plant is trained by expert hands to grow, so also the Irish schoolmasters in various parts of the Colonies trained the American youth under their care; and as many of these teachers had been driven out of Ireland and consequently had no love for England, they lost no opportunity of inculcating in the minds of their pupils a spirit of antagonism to the British government. The seeds of revolution planted in the minds of American youth by their Irish tutors fructified in time, and it is a notable fact that Dr. Francis Allison of Donegal, Ireland, master of an academy at New London, Penna., had in his school at one time three boys who became distinguished as Signers of the Declaration of Independence.¹⁵ And Lossing declares that "Allison's chief claim to honor among men is that he was the tutor of a large number of Americans who were conspicuous actors in the events of the Revolution that accomplished the independence of the United States." In county records, town histories, and the like may be found references to Irish schoolmasters against whom complaints were made

affairs in North Carolina, and was one of the representatives of that province in the Continental Congress.

¹⁵ James Smith, George Read, and Thomas McKean.

in town meetings that they were "teaching sedition to the children," and it must be said also that during the decade of years between 1774 and 1784, many rural communities served by Irish schoolmasters were entirely without the services of a tutor, for the "master" had dropped the ferule for the rifle and marched forth with his neighbors to fight in the cause of independence, and thenceforward it is on the rosters of the patriot forces that one must look for their names. ¹⁶

I have said that the Irish exhibited an uncommon eagerness to enter the fight, and I hardly think this assertion can be successfully contradicted. For the Irish had a double incentive in joining the American army, one being the opportunity it gave them to avenge the wrongs their country had suffered at the hands of the British government, the other the inherent love of liberty which ever dwells in an Irishman's heart and his sympathy for all people struggling for that inestimable privilege. On this point we have many contemporary witnesses, and an instance referred to by the noted Frenchman, Marquis de Chastellux, major-general of Rochambeau's army in America, in the account of his American travels in the years 1780-1782, furnishes one of the most interesting examples. In referring to a traveler whom the Marquis and his companions had overtaken on their journey through the Blue Ridge Mountains in Virginia, he says: "He was an Irishman who, though but lately arrived in America, had made

¹⁶ Ample proof of this assertion may be found in the rosters of the military companies where the occupations of the enlisted men were taken down.

several campaigns and received a considerable wound in his thigh by a musket ball, which, though it could not be extracted, had not in the least affected either his health or gaiety. He related his military exploits and we enquired immediately about the country which he then inhabited. He acquainted us that he was settled in North Carolina, upwards of eighty miles from Catawba and . . . three hundred from the sea." This incident gave rise to the following observations by one of the Marquis' party, an Englishman named Kent, who also translated the *American Travels*:

"An Irishman, the instant he sets foot on American ground, becomes *ipso facto* an American; this was uniformly the case during the whole of the late war. Whilst Englishmen and Scotsmen were regarded with jealousy and distrust, even with the best recommendation of zeal and attachment to their cause, a native of Ireland stood in need of no other certificate than his dialect; his sincerity was never called in question; he was supposed to have a sympathy of suffering, and every voice decided, as if it were intuitively, in his favour. Indeed, their conduct in the late Revolution amply justified this favourable opinion, for whilst the Irish emigrant was fighting the battles of America by sea and land, the Irish merchants, particularly at Charles-Town, Baltimore and Philadelphia, laboured with indefatigable zeal, and at all hazards, to promote the spirit of enterprise, to increase the wealth and maintain the credit of the country; their purses were always open, and their persons devoted to the common cause. On more than one imminent occasion, Congress owed their existence, and America possibly her preservation, to the fidelity and firmness of the Irish. I had the honour of dining with The Irish Society,¹⁷ composed of the steadiest Whigs upon the continent, at the City Tavern in Philadelphia, on Saint Patrick's Day; the members wear a medallion suspended by a

¹⁷ This doubtless refers to the Society of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick, organized at Philadelphia in the year 1771.

riband, with a very magnificent device, which has escaped my memory, but was so applicable to the American Revolution, that until I was assured that it subsisted prior to that event, and had a reference only to the oppressed in Ireland, by her powerful sister, I concluded it to be a temporary illusion. General Washington, Mr. Dickinson and other leading characters are adopted members of this Society, having been initiated by the ceremony of an exterior application of a whole bottle of claret poured upon the head, and a generous libation to liberty and good living, of as many as the votary could carry off.”¹⁸

So much for the observations of the French travellers. Let us now consult an Englishman of letters, Samuel Smiles. In commenting on the patriotism of the Irish during the Revolution, Smiles says: “Of the Irish Colonists in America, a large proportion everywhere stood foremost on the side of the patriots. It seemed as if Providence had mysteriously used the victims of Britain’s cruelty to Ireland, the men whom her persecution had banished from the bosom of their own land, as the means of her final punishment and humiliation on a foreign soil. As the Irish Brigade struck down the British power at Landen and Fontenoy, so did the refugee Irish in the ranks of the American patriot army contribute to pluck from the haughty brow of Britain the palm of empire.”¹⁹

Certain it is that in England itself the impression prevailed throughout the war that the exiled Irish were

¹⁸ *Voyages de M. le Marquis de Chastellux dans L’Amérique Septentrionale dans les Années 1780, 1781 et 1782*, Vol. II, p. 36; Paris, 1786 (English translation, London, 1787).

¹⁹ Samuel Smiles, *History of Ireland and the Irish People*, p. 331; London. 1844.

chiefly at the bottom of her misfortunes. For these were portentous days for England, and the united Irish had everywhere shown evidence of their strength. The walls of Parliament vibrated as never before with the thunderous eloquence and ominous prophecies of Burke, Barré, Conolly, and Sheridan; from across the Channel the tremendous philippics of Grattan sounded like the death-knell of the empire; the Irish Volunteers were arming and drilling, and in the American Colonies Irishmen had been in the forefront of the agitation over the Stamp Act and now were fighting by the side of their fellow Colonists to emancipate themselves from foreign rule. And in confirmation of that we have the historic remark made in Parliament by the Honorable Luke Gardiner, afterward Lord Mountjoy, "America was lost by Irish emigrants," an outburst analogous to that of George II on another occasion, when he said, in referring to the victories achieved by the Irish Brigade in the service of France: "Cursed be the laws that deprived me of such subjects!"

In the published *Parliamentary Debates* Gardiner's speech is recorded under date of April 2, 1784, and reads in part as follows: "America was lost by Irish emigrants. These emigrations are fresh in the recollection of every gentleman in this House. I am assured, from the best authority, the major part of the American army was composed of Irish, and that the Irish language was as commonly spoken in the American ranks as English. I am also informed it was their valour determined the contest so that England had America detached from her by force of Irish emigrants." I imagine that Gardiner's

“authority” for the statement as to the extensive use of the Irish language among American soldiers must have been an English officer who came in contact with the Pennsylvania or Maryland regiments only, for, with the exception of some of the regiments raised in those two States, there is no evidence of any sort to justify its application to the American army as a whole. A large proportion of the Irish emigrants to the Colonies spoke the Irish language, and doubtless many of them knew no other tongue. In American newspapers, for several years prior to the Revolution, may be seen advertisements offering rewards for “runaway” Irish redemptioners, and one of the several means of identifying the Irish “runaways” was stated in some of these advertisements to be the fact that “they speak English,” a clear indication that the Irish language was the ordinary means of intercourse between many of the Irish immigrants of those times.²⁰

Indeed, so widespread was the belief in England, even among government officials, that “the rebel army” was comprised very largely of Irish, that the mere name of “Irishman” became a sort of bogey in English minds, and it is amusing to find Hutchinson writing in his Diary, under date of October 27, 1779, about “an account from Lewes that Paul Jones, *an Irishman in the French service*, had taken a 40 gun and a 20 gun

²⁰ See statement at page 259, quoted from John D. Rupp, the Pennsylvania historian, that in the settlements in the counties west of the Delaware River the Irish language was used so extensively that it was necessary for the Catholic priests to officiate in that language.

ship off the Humber with a number of colliers.”²¹ While we recognize in this incident the celebrated fight between the English war-ship *Serapis* and the *Bon Homme Richard* under the command of the gallant Scotchman, Paul Jones, the curious thing about Hutchinson’s remark is that a former English governor of Massachusetts assumed that Jones was an “Irishman.” Colonel Ethan Allen told a similar story in the narrative of his captivity. When a prisoner in England in 1776, Allen said that the people of Falmouth accused him of being “an Irishman,” and he related this incident as if it were a perfectly natural thing that in England an American soldier should have been mistaken for an Irishman!

Among the people of Ireland, too, it was generally believed that the American army was comprised largely of emigrants from that country, as will be seen from the following despatch dated “Dublin, April 11, 1783,” which was published in Loudon’s *New York Packet* of June 19, 1783:

“The next parliament will have the happiness of meeting what has never been experienced by their ancestors, a free constitution and a liberated trade. The great object which we have to look up to for our commerce, is America; and this will not appear improbable, when it is considered that three parts of the American army were absolutely Irish, that the Congress contains many of the same nation, and that a predilection for our country prevails through all America from the familiarity we lately bore to their constitution.

²¹ *Diary and Letters of Governor Thomas Hutchinson*, Vol. II, pp. 286-287. Governor Hutchinson’s grandson, who edited and published the Diary, says: “By association, Jones was sometimes accounted an Irishman.”

Add to this, our being the nearest part of the old world to the new, and no doubt remains but we must be the greatest gainers by their independence."

Of course it was not correct to say that "three parts of the American army were absolutely Irish," and the only value that can be attached to such a statement is that, having been written while the Revolutionary War was still being waged and published in one of the organs of the American patriots, it serves as an indication of the idea which then prevailed in Ireland that a very high percentage of America's fighting forces was Irish. At that time people living in Irish seaports had unusual opportunities for acquainting themselves with the progress of the Revolution, and indeed there are many evidences that in Ireland there was very close familiarity with American affairs of the period. The New York and Philadelphia newspapers throughout the Revolution, and for many years prior thereto, regularly published news despatches from Ireland, and they also show that there was constant communication between Irish and American ports. So there can be no doubt that the news that "three parts of the American army were absolutely Irish," exaggerated though it was, was brought to Ireland by the masters or officers of these vessels, who, while in American ports, formed the notion that the Irish were a preponderating element among the American "rebels."

The publication of the *Packet*, in which the Dublin despatch was printed, was begun in the city of New York on January 4, 1776, by Samuel Loudon, a native of Belfast, Ireland. Like John Holt's famous paper,

New York



Packet

AND THE AMERICAN ADVERTISER

THURSDAY,

JUNE 19, 1783.

FISH-KILL: PRINTED BY SAMUEL LOUDON.

The next parliament will have the happiness of meeting what has never been experienced by their ancestors, a free constitution and a liberated trade. The great object which we have to look up to for our commerce, is America; and this will not appear improbable, when it is considered that three parts of the American army were absolutely Irish; that the Congress contains many of the same nation, and that a predilection for our country, prevails through all America from the similarity we lately bore to their constitution: And to this, our being the nearest of part of the old world to the new: And no doubt remains but we must be the greatest gainers by their independence.

The volunteers of Ireland are preparing a congratulatory address to his Excellency General Washington, on the glorious emancipation of America, from British tyranny. To that renowned Chief, and the virtuous struggles of the American army, they, in a great measure, ascribe their own happiness and independence, and are therefore determined to pay their tribute of gratitude.

REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

FACSIMILES OF DESPATCHES FROM DUBLIN AND PHILADELPHIA
IN NEW YORK PACKET, JUNE 19, 1783.

it was the mouthpiece of the patriots; but when the British army took possession of the city in 1776, Loudon was compelled to leave, and thereafter he continued the publication of his paper at Fishkill-on-the-Hudson until Evacuation Day, November 25, 1783. Loudon was an ardent Irishman and he published regularly in the *Packet* despatches from Ireland containing accounts of "Grattan's Volunteers," and printed many editorial comments encouraging the Volunteer movement. It is with considerable interest that we read in the same issue of the *Packet* which contained the despatch from Dublin above quoted, the following news from Ireland, forwarded from Philadelphia:

"The Volunteers of Ireland are preparing a congratulatory address to his Excellency, General Washington, on the emancipation of America from British tyranny. To that renowned Chief and the virtuous struggles of the American Army, they, in great measure, ascribe their own happiness and independence, and are therefore determined to pay their tribute of gratitude."

That American newspapers of the time recognized the fact that the Irish actively espoused the patriot cause, is seen from occasional references in their columns to the struggle for independence in Ireland, and an example of this is the following extract from an article in the *New Jersey Journal* of March 8, 1780:²²

"It is impossible not to admire the spirit which animates the speakers in the Irish Parliament, so daringly pointed and so expressive of Liberty and Independence; or not to wish Ireland a similar station among the Nations as that we enjoy. And it is not now to be doubted, but that a people so long oppressed, and so

²² See also *Archives of New Jersey*, 2d Ser., Vol. IV, p. 237.

ardent in their love of Liberty, will use the present moment to recover their freedom, especially as they can have from the most powerful confederacy ever formed against England (as her King expresses it), every assistance they may want."

The same paper, in its issue of March 15, 1780, published an account of a celebration held in the American camp at Morristown over some news just received from Ireland, in which not only the Irish soldiers took part, but also many of the native-born officers. This account reads:

"A number of our last papers, containing an account of the late proceedings in Ireland, being sent to the army by his Excellency [General Washington], gave them the greatest satisfaction and fanned the glorious flame of Liberty in their breasts. As elegant a collation as the shortness of the time would permit was provided by the officers of Colonel Jackson's regiment. A number of toasts were drank and the night concluded with music, and a new cotillon called the Duke of Leinster. The following toasts were drank:

"1—Saint Patrick. 2—The Duke of Leinster. 3—Lord Shannon. 4—Mr. Grattan. 5—Mr. Ogle. 6—Mr. Edward Newenham. 7—The Recorder. 8—Mr. Flood. 9—The Memory of Dr. Lucas. 10—The Volunteers of Ireland. 11—May the cannon of Ireland bellow till the Nation is free! 12—The King of France. 13—General Washington and the Army."

Two days later, the annual celebration of Saint Patrick's Day was to be held in the American camp, and in anticipation of the event, Washington, on March 16, 1780, issued the following "General Orders":

"Headquarters, Morristown, 16th March, 1780.

"The General congratulates the Army on the very interesting Proceedings of the Parliament of Ireland, and the Inhabitants of that Country, which have been lately communicated. not only as

they appear calculated to remove those heavy and tyrannical oppressions on their Trade, but to restore to a brave and generous People their ancient Rights and Freedom, and by their operation to promote the Cause of America. Desirous of impressing on the minds of the Army Transactions so important in their Nature, the General directs that all Fatigue and Working Parties cease for to-morrow, the 17th, a day held in particular Regard by the People of that Nation. At the same time he orders, that as a mark of the Pleasure he feels on the occasion, he persuades himself that the Celebration of the Day will not be attended with the least Rioting or Disorder. The Officers to be at their Quarters in Camp, and the Troops of each State Line, are to be kept within their own encampment.”²³

The following order, which has been attributed to Colonel Francis Johnston of the Pennsylvania Line, was issued on the same day:

“The commanding officer desires that the celebration of the Day should not pass by without having a little rum issued to the troops, and has thought proper to direct the commissary to send for the hogshead which the Colonel has purchased already in the vicinity of the camp. While the troops are celebrating the bravery of Saint Patrick in innocent mirth and pastime, he hopes they will not forget their worthy friends in the Kingdom of Ireland, who, with the greatest unanimity, have stepped forward in opposition to the tyrant Great Britain, and who, like us, are determined to die or be free. The troops will conduct themselves with the greatest sobriety and good order.”

The camp parole on the 17th of March, 1780, was “Saint” and the countersign, “Patrick” and “Shelah.”²⁴

²³ Published in the *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury* of April 24, 1780. The original order is among the records of the War Department at Washington.

²⁴ One of the historic personifications of Ireland.

It is said that "the day was ushered in with music and hoisting of colors exhibiting the thirteen stripes, the favorite harp, and an inscription, 'The Independence of Ireland.' " ²⁵

The national festival of Ireland was celebrated by the American army before and after this time. On March 17, 1776, the day the British evacuated Boston and the Americans marched in and took possession, General Washington, in the camp at Cambridge, authorized as the parole for the day, "Boston," and the counter-sign, "Saint Patrick," and he appropriately appointed General Sullivan "the Brigadier of the day." ²⁶ And according to an account given by Colonel McLane of the Continental army, Saint Patrick's Day in 1778 was celebrated by the American troops. ²⁷ In the Diary of

²⁵ *Gaine's New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, April 24, 1780. Gaine's correspondent, who sent this account to the paper, evidently was a Tory because he expressed the thought that "the Sons of Saint Patrick who had been seduced into the service of the Congress would go off in a body on Saint Patrick's Day" as a protest against their sufferings. He sought to ridicule the celebration by saying: "The simple hearted Teagues, charmed with the sight of the Harp, forgot their sufferings and dropped their complaints, and seemed perfectly happy for the Moment, though not a Drop of Whiskey or Taffe was to be seen in the Camp, unless in the Tents of the Contrivers of this dry and unusual Way of celebrating the tutelar Divinity of England's fair and jolly Sister, the Kingdom of Ireland."

²⁶ Force's *American Archives*, 4th Ser., Vol. V, p. 421.

²⁷ Colonel McLane's account was reproduced in the *Collections* of the Pennsylvania Historical Society (Vol. I, p. 141), and is as follows:

"When Washington and his army lay at Valley Forge in 1778, some of the Pennsylvania Germans made a *Paddy*, and displayed

Colonel Israel Angell of the Second Rhode Island Regiment may be read the following interesting entry under date of March 17, 1781: "Good weather; a great parade this day with the Irish, it being Saint Patrick's. I spent the day on the Point²⁸ and tarried with the officers." And in the Journal of Lieutenant William Feltman²⁹ of the First Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line, under date of March 16, 1782, is found a similarly interesting entry reading: "This morning received an invitation from Lt. Smith to spend Saint Patrick's Day with him tomorrow in company with Lt. North, Lt. McCol-lam, Lt. Reed, Dr. McDowell, Ensigns Van Court and Cunningham. We rode to a Mr. Kennedy's about 15 miles from camp at a place called Rantholes on Stoneo River, about twelve miles from Charleston, and spent the day and greater part of the night very agreeably." The celebration, according to Lieutenant Feltman, continued through the next day, for he describes in his

it on Saint Patrick's Day to the great indignation of the Irish in the camp. They assembled in large bodies under arms, swearing for vengeance against the New England troops, saying they had got up the insult. The affair threatened a very serious issue; none of the officers could appease them. At this, Washington, having ascertained the entire innocence of the New England troops, rode up to the Irish and kindly and feelingly argued with them, and then requested the Irish to show the offenders and he would see them punished. They could not designate anyone. 'Well,' said Washington with great promptness, 'I, too, am a lover of Saint Patrick's Day and must settle the affair by making all the army keep the day.' He therefore ordered extra drink to every man of his command and thus all made merry and were good friends."

²⁸ West Point, New York.

²⁹ Published by the Pennsylvania Historical Society in 1853.

Journal, under date of the 17th, how the officers “dined very sumptuously upon codfish, Irish potatoes, asparagus, fowls, etc., and after dinner we surrounded a large table which was decked with good Nantes brandy, excellent spirits. We then went to work in form, chose a President and proceeded to business, spending the afternoon and greater part of the night very agreeably.”

In the language of the Minutes of the Society of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick of Philadelphia, Washington himself was “unanimously adopted a member of the Society” on December 18, 1781, and his reply to a letter from the President tendering him the badge of the Society is still preserved among its papers.³⁰ It reads:

“I accept with singular pleasure the Ensign of so worthy a fraternity as that of the Sons of St. Patrick in this City, a society distinguished for the firm adherence of its members to the glorious cause in which we are embarked. Give me leave to assure you, Sir, that I shall never cast my eyes upon the badge with which I am honoured but with a grateful remembrance of the polite and affectionate manner in which it was presented.”

On the 1st of January, 1782, Washington attended a dinner of the Society, and on the 18th of March of the same year he was present at the Saint Patrick's Day banquet of the Friendly Sons, accompanied by some of the most distinguished officers of the American and French armies. On the membership roll of this famous Irish society at this time are found the names of Generals

³⁰ See *A Brief Account of the Society of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick*, by Samuel Hood; Philadelphia, 1844.

Wayne, Butler, Hand, Irvine, and Moylan, and a number of other officers of the army and navy, as well as some of the leading merchants of the city of Philadelphia. Indeed, the Society was "composed for the most part of men of fortune, who were associated on terms of familiarity, friendship, and equality with the first men of the Province; many of them occupied the highest and most responsible stations in the army, navy, cabinet, and in Congress," and they supported the cause of the country "with a zeal, ardour, and ability unsurpassed in those days of intense patriotism."³¹

When the historians who have denied to the Irish a place in American Revolutionary history read of such incidents as these, we can imagine that the facts must be rather disturbing to their consciences, for we cannot for a moment suppose that such celebrations would be permitted were it not for the fact that the Irish element wielded considerable influence and that the native American officers and soldiers fully recognized the aid received from Ireland's sons in their struggle for liberty. But it was not the native Americans alone who sympathized with Ireland at that time, for it was the great Frenchman, Lafayette, who proposed the toast, "May the Kingdom of Ireland merit a stripe in the American standard!" at a banquet given by the officers of General Sullivan's forces in the Wyoming Valley on September 25, 1779, celebrating the announcement that Spain had joined the Franco-American alliance.³²

³¹ *Brief Account*, etc., by Samuel Hood; Philadelphia, 1844.

³² A strong sentiment in favor of Ireland prevailed in America, especially in the army, at the time of the Revolution, doubtless

American military officers watched with considerable interest the course of events in Ireland, as far as they could be learned from the Irish newspapers brought into the American camps. General Henry Knox selected an appropriate date, March 17, 1780, to write General William Heath from Morristown to the effect that "the affairs of Ireland will be a pretty addition to the embarrassment of England, and will, I hope, produce a speedy peace for America." General Robert Howe also mentioned affairs in Ireland in a letter to Heath from the Highlands on April 9, 1780; and again, in a letter from Heath to Howe, dated Roxbury, April 25, 1780, England's difficulties in Ireland were the subject of discussion between these American officers of high rank.³³

It is also with considerable interest that we read in *The Correspondence of George Washington* several

because of the help which it was known the sons of Ireland had given the American cause. For example, one of thirteen toasts drunk at a celebration of the "Sons of Saint Tammany" of Philadelphia on May 1, 1783, was: "The Friends of Liberty in Ireland: May the Harp be tuned to Independence and be touched by skilful hands," and in the report of the celebration in the *Philadelphia Freeman's Journal* of May 7, 1783, it said, "at the giving of each toast cannon were fired and the whole company gave three cheers, but when 'General Washington and the Army' was named, they swelled spontaneously into thirteen, and upon naming 'The Friends of Liberty in Ireland' and the 'tuning of the Harp to Independence,' the Sons of Saint Tammany, anticipating the day in which the brave sons of Saint Patrick shall be free and happy as ourselves, burst into thirteen shouts of joy and the band struck up 'Saint Patrick's Day in the Morning.'"

³³ These letters are among the *Heath Letters* reproduced in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 7th Ser., Vol. V.

letters in which the affairs of Ireland were discussed. For example, a possible "insurrection in Ireland" was commented upon in General Sullivan's letter to General Washington of August 7, 1777;³⁴ to Count de Rochambeau, Washington wrote on August 26, 1780, expressing his satisfaction at "the intelligence respecting the Irish Militia's driving the English out of the forts," saying "it must be embarrassing to the British Ministry;"³⁵ and two days later, in a letter to John Mercereau of Woodbridge, N. J., he referred to "the disturbances in Ireland."³⁶ In a letter of October 5, 1780, to General John Cadwalader, Washington referred to the favorable aspect of affairs in Europe, among which were the continuance of "the Irish claims and English disturbances," which "formed an opinion in his breast that the hour of deliverance was not far distant, for that however unwilling Great Britain might be to yield the point, it would not be in her power to continue the contest";³⁷ and in a letter from General Heath to Washington on January 25, 1783, he also spoke of "a rumoured revolt in Ireland." These letters indicate that American army officers must have had instructions to obtain all available information with regard to Irish affairs and that the Commander-in-Chief himself considered it a matter of sufficient importance to be kept informed

³⁴ *Correspondence of George Washington*, p. 391; Library of Congress, 1915.

³⁵ *The Writings of George Washington*, collected and edited by Worthington C. Ford; Vol. VIII, p. 408; New York, 1890.

³⁶ *Correspondence of George Washington*, p. 1379.

³⁷ *The Writings of George Washington*; Vol. VIII, p. 467.

of the trend of political agitation in Ireland, knowing that the success, or even the continuance, of the movement for the redress of Irish grievances would have the effect of weakening England's conduct of the war.

Tarper (X) my love

Joseph Nelson

Lieut Blaise

Chas. Stewart

Walter Stewart

John Gehran

Wm. Constable

Fra. Johnston

Gen. Washington

Edw. Hand

REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

FACSIMILES OF SIGNATURES OF GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON
AND EDWARD HAND, ADJUTANT GENERAL OF THE CONTINENTAL
ARMY, TO THE MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF THE SOCIETY OF THE
FRIENDLY SONS OF SAINT PATRICK OF PHILADELPHIA.

CHAPTER X

"THE LINE OF IRELAND"

Lossing's description of Morgan's celebrated Rifle Corps. Four regiments of the Pennsylvania Line, commanded by Irish officers, covered the retreat from Long Island. General Henry Lee described the Pennsylvania Line as "the Line of Ireland." Gallantry of Irish soldiers. The New England soldiers. Their quality as fighting men. Washington's characterization of them. The "mutiny" of the Pennsylvania Line. Its causes.

WHEN we study the testimony of Galloway and Robertson and compare it with the many other evidences that are furnished to us by American records of the large number of Irishmen and their sons who, early in the contest, eagerly flocked to the standard of Washington, we need not wonder at Lossing's description of Morgan's celebrated rifle corps. In alluding to General Washington's organization of the army at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in July, 1775, Lossing says: "Some riflemen from Maryland, Virginia, and Western Pennsylvania enlisted under the order of Congress, and led by Daniel Morgan,¹ a man of powerful

¹ In biographical sketches of Colonel Daniel Morgan it is stated that he was born in New Jersey and that his father was a Welshman. However, the late "Richelieu" Robinson, editor of the *Irish World*, claimed that Morgan was born in County Derry, Ireland, and that his father, Peter Morgan, also a native of Ireland, emigrated to America in 1742 with his seven sons, one of whom was Daniel. In the *Catholic Encyclopædia* it is also claimed that Morgan

frame and sterling courage, soon joined the camp. Upon their breasts they wore the motto '*Liberty or Death.*' A large proportion of them were Irishmen and were not very agreeable to the New Englanders. These men attracted much attention, and on account of their sure and deadly aim they became a terror to the British. Wonderful stories of their exploits went to England, and one of the riflemen, who was carried there a prisoner, was gazed at as a great curiosity."²

The esteem in which Morgan's Rifle Corps was held by General Washington is shown by his letter to Governor Clinton on August 16, 1777, informing Clinton that he had ordered Morgan to join the army under General Gates, then operating in the vicinity of Albany. In that letter Washington said: "They are all chosen men, selected from the army at large, well acquainted with the use of rifles and with the mode of fighting which is necessary to make them a good counterpoise to the Indians, and they have distinguished themselves on a variety of occasions since the formation of the Corps in skirmishes with the enemy. I expect the most eminent services from them, and I shall be mistaken if their presence does not go far towards producing a general deserting among the savages."³

Of all the provinces by far the greatest number of

was an Irishman, but no authority for this statement is given. While the question is in doubt, it is certain that Daniel Morgan exhibited many of the well-known characteristics of an Irishman.

² *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*, Vol. I, p. 565; New York, 1851.

³ Sparks' *Writings of Washington*, Vol. V, p. 30.

Irishmen enlisted in Pennsylvania, which was to be expected in view of the large settlements of Irish people in that province, which continued for half a century prior to the Revolution. In referring to the racial elements in America at the time of the outbreak of the war, Dr. David Ramsay, himself a participant, says: "The Irish in America, with few exceptions, were attracted to independence, for they had fled from oppression in their native country and could not brook the idea that it should follow them."⁴ And in his chapter on the Pennsylvania Line, Ramsay says: "The common soldiers enlisted in that State were for the most part natives of Ireland, but though not bound to America by the accidental tie of birth, they were inferior to none in discipline, courage, or attachment to the cause of independence."⁵

The Pennsylvania Line comprised approximately twenty thousand men and is generally admitted to have been one of the most effective fighting arms of the Revolutionary forces, and, as an admiring officer once said of them, "they served everywhere and surrendered nowhere." What finer compliment could be bestowed on the prowess of any body of troops than their selection by Washington to cover the retreat of the American army after the disastrous defeat at Long Island on August 28, 1776? For we are told that "the Pennsyl-

⁴ *History of the American Revolution*, by Dr. David Ramsay, Vol. III, p. 6; Trenton, 1811.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 280. This statement is also made in *History of America from the Earliest Discovery to the Present Day*, edited by Samuel Lorenzo Knapp (Library of American History Series, Vol. II, p. 28; New York, 1856).

vania troops were done great honour by being chosen the *corps de reserve* to cover the retreat. The regiments of Colonels Hand, Magaw, Shea, and Haslett were detailed for that purpose."⁶ And it is a remarkable fact that all four of the commanding officers of these regiments were natives of Ireland.

General Henry Lee, afterward Governor of Virginia, in his *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department*,⁷ makes the following reference to General Wayne and the Pennsylvania Line: "Wayne had a constitutional attachment to the decision of the sword, and this cast of character had acquired strength from indulgence, as well as from the native temper of the troops he commanded. They were known by the designation of the Line of Pennsylvania, whereas they might have been, with more propriety, called the Line of Ireland. Bold and daring, they were impatient and refractory, and would always prefer an appeal to the bayonet to a toilsome march. . . . The General and his soldiers were singularly fitted for close and stubborn action, hand to hand in the centre of the army."

Throughout the Revolution the soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line maintained on many a battle-field that reputation for gallantry which Ireland's martial sons

⁶ *Account of the Retreat from Long Island*, by Lieutenant-Colonel James Chambers, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, 5th Ser., Vol. II, p. 612. See also letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Chambers to his wife, dated September 3, 1776, quoted in *Chambersburg in the Colony and the Revolution*, by Lewis H. Garrard, published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Philadelphia, 1856.

⁷ Vol. II, p. 203; New York, 1808. (See also *Pennsylvania Archives*, 5th Ser., Vol. II, p. 566.)

have ever enjoyed, and they furnished to the military annals of America a chapter as glorious as that which the famous Irish Brigade contributed to the arms of France. While the heroism, devotion, and fidelity of that renowned corps, in supporting and defending the cause they espoused, constitute for it imperishable claims to the respect and admiration of posterity, their story is comparatively little known to the American people, for no literary trumpet has sounded their praises. What a field has existed for a romantic writer in the traditions that have lived, but are gradually becoming dimmed by time, among the descendants of those gallant men in the mountains and valleys of Pennsylvania! But, alas for the Irish in America, in this, as well as in many other phases of American history, they have neglected their opportunities and no writer has sought to keep alive their memory, and their story is now found only in the prosaic official records of the Revolution. What more gallant spirits figure in American military annals than Captain John Brady, the Revolutionary scout and frontiersman; or Timothy Murphy, the hero of Saratoga; or Major John Kelly, who destroyed the bridge at Stony Brook on the retreat from Trenton, thereby saving the American troops from capture; or Lieutenant James Gibbons, who led the forlorn hope at the storming of Stony Point; or Captain William O'Neill and his gallant band, who held in check a British force at the battle of the Brandywine? These and many other equally gallant soldiers were attached to regiments of the "Line of Ireland," but no one except the student of history now recalls their services to their country.

Much stress has been laid upon the part played by the New England States in the Revolutionary conflict,—so much, indeed, that one would be compelled to conclude, in the absence of other evidence, that to New England is due the independence of the United States. Some few years ago, I received from Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge a copy of a pamphlet prepared by him containing comparative statistics of the number of soldiers who enlisted from each province or State, and purporting to show that by far the greatest number enlisted from Massachusetts, and that New England furnished more men to the Revolutionary army than all the other Colonies combined. Mr. Lodge pointed to this as “proof” of the statements of the historians that the New Englanders were a preponderating element in the Revolution.

Now, without questioning the authenticity of Mr. Lodge’s figures, a thought that naturally arises is that in making such comparisons the quality of the soldiers as fighting material is a very important factor,—indeed, just as important as their relative numbers. For we know that in every sphere of human activity the quality and capacity of men in the particular calling in which they may be engaged varies in a greater or lesser degree according to circumstances and conditions, and to no class more than to soldiers does this apply. Bruce at Bannockburn, with ten thousand men, decisively defeated an English army of thirty thousand; which proves that it is not numbers alone that conquer in battle, but the quality and determination of “the men behind the guns.”

When we compare the New England troops with

those who came from other sections of the country, what do we find? On the one hand, General Richard Montgomery, writing to General Washington on October 5, 1775, of the personnel of his command during the Canadian campaign, said: "The New Englanders are the worst stuff imaginable for soldiers. They are homesick. Their regiments are melted away, and yet not a man dead of any distemper. There is such an equality among them, that the officers have no authority, and there are very few among them in whose spirit I have any confidence. The privates are all generals, but not soldiers, and so jealous that it is impossible, though a man risque his person, to escape the imputation of treachery. I don't see amongst them that zealous attachment to the cause I flattered myself with, but indeed they are homesick."⁸ And Washington himself wrote on January 31, 1776, on receiving Montgomery's letter: "The account given of the behaviour of the men under General Montgomery is exactly consonant to the opinion I have formed of these people, and such as they will exhibit abundant proof of in similar cases whenever called upon. Place them behind a parapet, a breastwork, stone wall, or anything that will afford shelter, and from their knowledge of a firelock, they will give a good account of the enemy; but I am as well convinced as if I had seen it that they will not march boldly up to a work, nor stand exposed in a plain."⁹

Bancroft informs us that "Montgomery's troops de-

⁸ *Robert R. Livingston MS. Letters*, fol. 57, at New York Public Library.

⁹ *Washington's Works*, Vol. III, pp. 277, 285.

served in such numbers [in Canada] that only eight hundred remained"; and Lecky says, in referring to the soldiers engaged in Montgomery's operations in Quebec in 1775: "They were turbulent, insubordinate, and half trained, and they had enlisted for so short a period and were so unwilling to renew their contract that it was necessary to press on operations as quickly as possible."¹⁰ In fact, we find Washington's letters full of complaints of the conduct of the New England troops. In a letter to General Joseph Reed, dated Cambridge, November 28, 1775, he complained about their "dearth of public spirit, and such want of virtue, such stock-jobbing and fertility in all the low arts to obtain advantages of one kind or another, that I never before saw, and pray God's mercy that I may never be witness to again." "Such a mercenary spirit," wrote Washington in another place, "pervades the whole, that I should not at all be surprised at any disaster that may happen. . . . Could I have foreseen what I have experienced, and am likely to experience, no consideration upon earth should have induced me to accept this command."¹¹ "No troops," he wrote in another letter, "were ever better provided or higher paid, yet their backwardness to enlist for another year is amazing. It grieves me to see so little of that patriotic spirit which I was taught to believe was characteristic of this people."¹² Washington's opinion of the New England troops is further

¹⁰ W. E. H. Lecky, *History of the American Revolution*, pp. 215-216.

¹¹ Washington's Works, Vol. III, p. 179.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 181.

shown by his letter of August 20, 1775, from Cambridge, Mass., to Lund Washington, in which he said: "The People of this Government have obtained a character which they by no means deserved; their officers generally speaking are the most indifferent kind of people I ever saw. I have already broke one Colonel and five Captains for Cowardice, or for drawing more Pay and Provisions than they had Men in their Companies; there is two more Colonels now under arrest and to be tried for the same offences; in short, they are by no means such Troops, in any respect, as you are led to believe of them from the accounts which are published, but I need not make myself enemies among them by this declaration, although it is consistent with truth. I dare say the men would fight very well (if properly officered), although they are exceeding dirty and nasty people."

General Philip Schuyler also made considerable complaint against the Connecticut and Massachusetts militia,¹³ and General Trumbull, in a letter to Washington in December, 1775, spoke of his "grief, surprise, and indignation" at the conduct of the New England troops. Lecky states: "The term of enlistment of the Connecticut troops expired in December, 1775, and the whole body, amounting to some five thousand men, positively refused to re-enlist," and "it was vainly represented to them that their desertion threatened to bring absolute ruin to the American cause."¹⁴ Neither Mr. Lodge nor any

¹³ Letter from General Schuyler to Congress, August 10, 1777, in *Schuyler MSS.* at New York Public Library.

¹⁴ *History of the American Revolution*, p. 228.

other New England historian takes any of these facts into consideration.

Contrast all this with the statement of Lee, that the soldiers of the famous corps whom he called "the Line of Ireland" were the type of men who were always ready to meet the enemy under any conditions. They were "singularly fitted," says Lee, "for close and stubborn action, hand to hand in the centre of the army," and "always preferred an appeal to the bayonet to a toilsome march,"—the kind of soldiers best qualified for the warfare of that time. Men of that calibre were immeasurably superior to the type whom Montgomery and Washington described, for they required the protection of neither "parapet, breastwork, nor stone wall" to prop up their courage, and their most cheerful moments were when grappling with the enemy "hand to hand in the centre of the army." For individual initiative, physical endurance, grim determination, dash and courage, and all those qualities that were necessary to the efficient soldier of that time, no single aggregation of men in the Revolutionary army equalled the soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line; for they were "born soldiers," their lives having been spent largely in savage warfare against the Indians or in conquering the forces of nature in the wild country which they or their fathers had settled.

Nothing better illustrates the character of these men than the outbreak which occurred in their ranks in the winter of 1780-81, the result of the "nakedness and famine which were their daily companions."¹⁵ This

¹⁵ Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*, Vol. I, p. 312.

outbreak is known in history as "the Mutiny of the Pennsylvania Line." The celebrated Matthew Carey gave a graphic account of this movement and of the sufferings and fidelity of the "mutineers":

"During the American Revolution a band of Irishmen were embodied to avenge, in the country of their adoption, the injuries of the country of their birth. They formed the major part of the celebrated Pennsylvania Line. They fought and bled for the United States. Many of them sealed their attachment with their lives. Their adopted country was shamefully ungrateful. The wealthy, the indolent, and the luxurious, for whom they fought, were rioting in all the comforts and superfluities of life. Their defenders were literally half-starved and half-naked. Their shoeless feet marked with blood their tracks on the highway. They bore their grievances patiently. They at length murmured. They remonstrated. They implored a supply of the necessities of life, but in vain. A deaf ear was turned to their complaints. They felt indignant at the cold neglect, at the ingratitude, of that country for which so many of their companions in arms had expired on the crimsoned field of battle. They held arms in their hands. They had reached the boundary line beyond which forbearance and submission became meanness and pusillanimity. As all appeals to the gratitude, the justice and generosity of the country had proved unavailing, they determined to try another course. They appealed to its fears. They mutinied. They demanded with energy that redress for which they had before supplicated. It was a noble deed; I hope in all similar cases similar measures will be pursued.

"The intelligence was carried to the British camp. It there spread joy and gladness. Lord Howe hoped that a period had arrived to the 'rebellion,' as it would have been termed. There was a glorious opportunity of crushing the half-formed embryo of the Republic. He counted largely on the indignation and on the resentment of the natives of the Emerald Isle. He knew the irascibility of their tempers. He calculated on the diminution of the strength of 'the rebels,' and the accession to the numbers of the royal army. Messengers were despatched to the mutineers. They had *carte blanche*. They were to allure the poor Hibernians to

return, like prodigal children, from feeding on husks to the plentiful fold of their royal master. Liberality itself presided over his offers. Abundant supplies of provisions, comfortable clothing to their hearts' desire, all arrears of pay, bounties, and pardon for past offences were offered. There was, however, no hesitation among those poor, neglected warriors. They refused to renounce poverty, nakedness, suffering and ingratitude.

"The splendid temptations were held out in vain. There was no Judas, no Arnold there. They seized the tempters. They trampled on their shining ore. They sent them to their General's tent. The miserable wretches paid their forfeited lives for attempting to seduce a band of ragged, forlorn, and deserted, but illustrious heroes. We prate about Roman, about Grecian patriotism. One-half of it is false. In the other half there is nothing that excels this noble trait, which is worthy the pencil of a West or a Trumbull!"¹⁶

Washington, writing to Rochambeau on January 20, 1781, relative to "the late disturbances in the Pennsylvania Line," said: "The causes of complaint of this Line, mostly composed of foreigners, and having even some British deserters, must in great part be known to your Excellency. The absolute want of pay and clothing, the great scarcity of provisions, were too severe a trial for the men, a great proportion of whom could not be deeply impressed with the feelings of citizens. It is somewhat extraordinary that these men, however lost to a sense of duty, had so far retained that of honour, as to reject the most advantageous propositions from the enemy";¹⁷ and Lafayette, in a letter to Vergennes, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, said: "Some Pennsylvania troops, *almost wholly composed of for-*

¹⁶ *The Olive Branch*, 10th edition; Philadelphia, Pa.

¹⁷ *Ford's Writings of Washington*, Vol. IX, p. 115.



REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

COLONEL WALTER STEWART
OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE, CONTINENTAL ARMY.
BORN IN DONEGAL, IRELAND.

eigners, and stationed at Morristown, had revolted.”¹⁸

As further illustrating the character of the men of the Pennsylvania Line, after the mutiny was settled Wayne wrote to Washington in January, 1781, that “the disbanded soldiers were as importunate to be re-enlisted as they had been to be discharged; a reclaimed and formidable Line was the result in the spring.”¹⁹ General Rochambeau also touches upon this incident in his *Memoirs*, where, referring to the march of the “mutineers” to Philadelphia to appeal to Congress for redress of their grievances, he says: “I should here mention a most extraordinary trait of patriotism in these times of rebellion. General Clinton, the Commandant at New York, within whose reach these men had to pass, sent off emissaries to beg them to join the American refugees who were serving in his army, offering at the same time to pay the arrears which were due to them. The sergeant who commanded them exclaimed: ‘Comrades, he takes us for traitors; but we are brave men, who demand justice of our country.’ He hanged the spies sent by Clinton and proceeded on.”²⁰

¹⁸ Document No. 1632 in Stevens' *Facsimiles*.

¹⁹ *Border Wars of the American Revolution*, by William L. Stone, Vol. II, p. 135; New York, 1900.

²⁰ *Memoirs of the Marshal Count de Rochambeau relative to the War of Independence in the United States*, p. 30; Paris, 1838.

CHAPTER XI

MORE HISTORY BY SUPPRESSION

The "Volunteers of Ireland" and the "Roman Catholic Volunteers" in the English service. How organized, and their composition. Bancroft suppresses the facts. Desertions to the American Army and disintegration of the Volunteers. The Irish Volunteers in the American service. The Virginia regiments. "The Irish will enlist in crowds." Irish recruits in the Carolinas. Lord Cornwallis' letter to General Clinton.

IN an attempt to show that the Irish in America did not favor the Revolutionary cause, Bancroft says: "While it was no longer possible for the Americans to keep up their army enlistments, the British gained numerous recruits from immigrants. In Philadelphia, Howe had formed a regiment of Roman Catholics. With better success, Clinton courted the Irish. They had fled from the persecution of inexorable landlords to a country which offered them freeholds. By flattering their nationality and their sense of importance attached to their numbers, Clinton allured them to a combination directly averse to their own interests and raised for Lord Rawdon a large regiment in which officers and men were exclusively Irish. Among them were nearly five hundred deserters from the American Army."¹

This statement is true only in its barest essential,

¹ *History of the United States*, Vol. X, p 175.

namely, in the fact that the two "regiments" referred to were actually organized; and it serves as another instance of the "writing of history by suppression" before alluded to. The first-mentioned "regiment" was known as the "Roman Catholic Volunteers" and was formed in 1777 while the British were in possession of Philadelphia; and the second, known as the "Volunteers of Ireland," was formed in the year 1778. In thus attempting to seduce the Irish Catholics from the American cause, England was only following the same tactics which had failed in Ireland, where, by the relaxation of the penal laws and the granting of certain measures of relief to the Catholics, she sought to arouse religious animosities against the Americans to promote her own interests; but the extent to which they succeeded in America will be shown by a brief narration of the facts on record.

According to an account printed in Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, the "Roman Catholic Volunteers" were commanded by Colonel Alfred Clifton, "an English Catholic gentleman,"² and the "Volunteers of Ireland" were under the command of Lord Rawdon, who, although a native of Ireland, was "British to the core." As to how much faith we may place in Bancroft's assertion that "the officers were exclusively Irish," we have a fairly safe guide in the following official list of the officers of these regiments:³

² Statement of Rev. Ferdinand Farmer in *Woodstock Letters*, Vol. XIV, p. 196.

³ From *A List of General and Staff Officers of the British Army in America*, p. 64.

ROMAN CATHOLIC VOLUNTEERS

Colonel

Alfred Clifton

Lieutenant-Colonel

.....

Majors

John Lynch

Captains

Kenneth McCulloch

Matthias Hanely

Martin McEvoy

Nicholas Wiergan

John McKinnon

Lieutenants

Peter Eck

John Connell

James Hanrahan

Edward Holland

John Neill

Ebenezer Wilson

Harman Black

John Jewell

Surgeon

.....

Chaplain

Rev. Ferdinand Farmer

Ensigns

John Grashune

Arthur Bailie

Thomas Quinn

Edward Goodwin

H. P. Sergeant

Mark Ransford

Quartermaster

John Holland

VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND

Colonel

Right Hon. Lord Rawdon

Lieutenant-Colonel

Welborne Ellis Boyle

Majors

John Despard

Henry Rugely

Captains

John Campbell

John Doyle

James King

William Barry

Thomas Silverton

Lieutenants

David Dalton

Charles Vallency

Charles Bingham

Thomas Proctor

Samuel Bradstreets

Hugh Gillespie

Henry Munro

James Moffat

Surgeon

Dr. Armstrong

Chaplain

.....

Ensigns

Edward Gilbourne

Thomas Hyn

George Cunningham

John Thompson

Davies Whitely

John Wilson

Quartermaster

Hugh Sturat

That there are some Irish Catholic names in these lists is not at all surprising, for of course it is just as natural that Catholics should be divided on political questions as those of other religious persuasions; but in any event there is proof that all of these officers were drawn from other English regiments and assigned especially to these new formations in order to give them the appearance of being "Irish" regiments.⁴ It is entirely probable that if the names of the enlisted men were obtainable, the list would show the same mixed racial complexion as is illustrated by the above. But, apart from this, the importance of Bancroft's statement is that it creates the impression, inasmuch as a regiment usually consists of one thousand men, that that number of Irish Catholic recruits was obtained for each of these regiments. What are the actual facts in regard to this?

Besides various tricks and cajoleries which were used in the efforts to raise recruits, offers of bounties and large pay were made to the men, many of whom were in privation and out of employment, and one of the recruiting officers promised every recruit after the war "fifty acres of land to which every gallant hero may retire to enjoy his bottle and his lass."⁵ Yet the attempt to organize a "regiment of Roman Catholic Volunteers" proved "an utter failure,"⁶ and we find

⁴ Letter from General Sir Henry Clinton to Lord George Germain, dated October 23, 1778, in Stevens' *Facsimile Documents in the European Archives relating to America, 1773-1783*, Document No. 1190.

⁵ F. 394, Ridgway Library, Philadelphia.

⁶ Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*.

General Howe stating in his *Narrative* that "on taking possession of Philadelphia I appointed William Allen, Mr. Chambers, and Mr. Clifton, the chief of the Roman Catholic persuasion, of whom there were said to be many in Philadelphia as well as in the Rebel army serving against their inclinations, to receive and form for service all the well affected that could be obtained. And what was the result? In May, when I left America, Colonel Clifton had raised only one hundred and eighty." ⁷ And so we find that this "regiment," which Bancroft speaks of, was comprised of only one hundred and eighty Catholic Tories of mixed nationalities; and in October, 1778, five months after its formation, it had dwindled to "near eighty men." ⁸ It was then evident that the "Roman Catholic Volunteer" regiment was a failure,⁹ so the "regiment" was disbanded and its sorry remnant was transferred to the "Volunteers of Ireland." There is nothing on record to indicate what became of the other one hundred men who joined this "regiment," although it is certain that many of them "deserted to the rebels." ¹⁰

The "Volunteers of Ireland" were also organized in

⁷ Narrative of General Sir William Howe, appended to his *Observations on a Pamphlet of Joseph Galloway*, pp. 51-53; London, 1779.

⁸ Letter from Sir Henry Clinton to Lord George Germain.

⁹ In June, 1778, its strength was one hundred and seventy-seven, and on August 24, 1778, only one hundred and seventy-three men.

¹⁰ References to "desertions to the rebels" from this "regiment" may be seen in the *Kemble Papers* in New York Historical Society Collections, Vol. I; in the *Orderly Book of Captain Robert Clayton of the 17th Foot Regiment of the British Army*, now at the Pennsylvania Historical Society; in the Philadelphia newspapers of the year 1778, and in the *Pennsylvania Archives* for 1779.

Philadelphia during the British occupancy, and after the battle of Monmouth (June, 1778) they proceeded to New York, where extraordinary efforts were made to get recruits. Clinton, when informing the English Secretary of War of his intention to raise this regiment, expressed the hope that it would be recruited "from the emigrants from Ireland," who, he explained, "kept up their national customs"; and "to work upon this latent seed of national attachment" appeared to him "the only means of inciting these refugees to a measure contrary perhaps to the particular interests of most of them." On the 17th of March, 1779, an advertisement appeared in the *Royal Gazette* of New York, in which Lord Rawdon offered each recruit "thirty shillings sterling and equipment in the most complete manner," and on the same day the men were paraded through the streets with great noise and ceremony and "the Anniversary of Saint Patrick, Tutelar Saint of Ireland, was celebrated with accustomed hilarity." "The officers of the garrison accompanied them to the Bowery, where dinner was provided, consisting of five hundred covers;" ¹¹ and after the men were seated and had proceeded to the enjoyment of the noble Banquet, the Officers returned to town and dined with his lordship." The account in the *Gazette* goes on to describe "the soldierly appearance of the men," what "fine, strapping fellows" they were, "neither influenced by Yankee nor Ague," and their country-

¹¹ It is probable that this is Bancroft's "authority" as to the "nearly five hundred deserters from the American army" who, he alleges, joined the "Volunteers of Ireland."

men were told that "however long they may have remained in the Haunts of Hypocrisy, Cunning, and Disaffection, being naturally gallant and loyal, such men crowd with Ardour to stand forth in the Cause of their King, of their Country, and of real, honest, general liberty whenever an opportunity offers." And after the next Saint Patrick's Day the same paper also gave an account of "A Munificent entertainment given by Lord Rawdon to the Volunteers of Ireland" at Jamaica, Long Island.

It may be supposed that the "Volunteers of Ireland" secured some recruits on these occasions, for "noble banquets" and "munificent entertainments" must have proven powerful appeals to hungry stomachs; but while it cannot be shown what the strength of the "regiment" then was, there is evidence that in August, 1780, at which time they were stationed at Camden, South Carolina, it numbered only "two hundred and fifty-three rank and file."¹² In June, 1780, Cornwallis sent Rawdon and his "Volunteers of Ireland" to the Irish settlement at Waxhaw, North Carolina, "thinking," wrote he to Cornwallis, that "as it was an Irish Corps it would be received with a better temper by the settlers of that district, who were universally Irish and universally disaffected"; but "I had the fullest proof that the people who daily visited my camp not only held constant correspondence with the rebel militia, but used every artifice to debauch the minds of my soldiers and persuade them to desert from their

¹² Beatson's *Naval and Military Memoirs*, Vol. VI, App. 211; London, 1790-1804.

colours." In fact, so many were the deserters from Rawdon's "Irish Corps" at this time that on July 1, 1780, he directed Major Rugely to deal severely with all who harbored deserters and to "use invariable severity towards every one who shall show so criminal neglect of the public interests." And this atrocious offer was made by the British commander: "I will give the inhabitants ten guineas for the head of any deserter belonging to the Volunteers of Ireland and five guineas only if they bring him in alive. They shall likewise be rewarded, though not to that amount, for such deserters as they may secure belonging to any other Regiment."¹³

In the summer of 1781, Lord Rawdon, on orders from Cornwallis, took his "Volunteers of Ireland" from Camden to the Savannah River, and on the march they passed through the Irish settlements in the Chester and Newberry districts, where he lost more than half of his effectives through desertion. This incident is referred to by Joseph Jones, a Virginia member of the Continental Congress, in a letter to General Washington on August 6, 1781, in which he said: "Rawdon's troops had been reduced about half by the march to Ninety-six."¹⁴ And his remark that "Lord Rawdon is in Charleston, much indisposed and bound for England,"

¹³ A full copy of this letter may be seen in Hartley's *Life of General Francis Marion*, p. 130. It must be said, to the eternal credit of the Irish of this vicinity, that not one deserter from Rawdon's "corps" was betrayed by them, notwithstanding these alluring rewards.

¹⁴ The town of Ninety-six, South Carolina.

now reads like the funebrial of the "Volunteers of Ireland"! ¹⁵

Before the close of the war, the desertions from the "Volunteers of Ireland" reduced the "corps" to a mere fragment; and indeed from 1781 forward there is no mention of it in any of the reports from either side. And so Bancroft's assertion as to this "large regiment," which included "nearly five hundred deserters from the American army," is effectually disposed of by the indisputable evidence of the records of the time! Yet Bancroft wrote: "*History is the high court of humanity, where truth must be heard and justice must be pronounced,*" and I doubt not that Bancroft himself would agree that the wilful assertion of what is false is less reprehensible than the suppression of facts!

It is rather strange that when Bancroft was writing on the "Irish Volunteers" in the English service it did not occur to him to give some credit to the "Irish Volunteers" in the American service. Several references to this last-mentioned body of men may be found in New England Revolutionary records. They were part of a regiment commanded by Colonel John Allan and under the immediate command of Captain John Preble, and are recorded officially as "a Detachment of Irish Volunteers." In January, 1777, Colonel Allan was commissioned by Congress "Colonel of Infantry and Superintendent of Eastern Indians," and in March of that year he proceeded to the district of Maine, where

¹⁵ *Letters of Joseph Jones of Virginia, 1777-1787*, edited by Worthington C. Ford and published by the Department of State; Washington, D. C., 1889.

he raised a body of troops, of which the Irish Volunteers were a part, for defence of the frontier against the hostile Indians and the English of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Between 1777 and 1783 the Volunteers were stationed in the vicinity of Machias and took part in the repulse of the British troops in the attack on that town in August, 1777. Very little information is obtainable as to the strength or record of the Irish Volunteers and only comparatively few of their names are on record, yet they seem to have been important enough to secure recognition in official records. They are supposed to have been raised in the vicinity of Machias, the home of the famous O'Brien brothers, six of whom fought in the Revolutionary navy, and it is probable that the O'Brien family had a hand in the raising of this detachment and naming them the "Irish Volunteers."¹⁶

In the southern provinces large numbers of Irishmen and their sons joined the patriot forces. They are generally described as "a rough and ready element," whose lives were spent between the hard tasks of cultivating the soil and defending their homes against the Indians. In the beginning they were not always welcomed to the ranks by the "upper classes," but when it came to hard fighting and the sort of guerrilla warfare which the conditions often necessitated, they were the types of men whom the officers invariably trusted to stand against unfavorable odds. So many of this class joined the Virginia regiments, and so eager were they

¹⁶ For further references to the Irish Volunteers, see *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolutionary War*.

for contact with the enemy, that at times the officers could with difficulty restrain them, and we find General Lee writing to Edmund Pendleton, a Virginia member of the Congress, on May 24, 1776, that "the old countrymen, particularly the Irish, whom the officers injudiciously enlisted in order to fill up their companies, have much contaminated the troops."¹⁷ And in another letter to Pendleton on May 25, 1776, relating to the difficulties in raising recruits in certain parts of Virginia, Lee said: "I do not believe that many of the native Virginians will offer themselves; the Irish, I am persuaded, will enlist in crowds."¹⁸

Virginia historians inform us that "in the Revolutionary War the choicest troops from Virginia were from Augusta, Rockbridge, and Fincastle¹⁹ Counties and the Shenandoah Valley, for not only were they the best-armed men in the State, but their training for many years had been a never-ending warfare with the Indians." Washington was personally well known in that section, having been employed there as a surveyor, and the regiment which he commanded in the Colonial War was raised largely in the Valley of the Shenandoah. "Place me in Rockbridge County," said the Commander-in-chief on one occasion when hard pressed by his foes, "and I will get men enough to save the Revolution!" How significant was this remark and what a fine compliment to the Irish was thus implied, we may

¹⁷ *Lee Papers*, in Collections of the New York Historical Society, Vol. for 1872, p. 35.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 22

¹⁹ Now in Kentucky.

judge from the fact that Rockbridge and the neighboring counties were largely settled by immigrants from Ireland who began to come there about thirty years before the Revolution.²⁰ And Lossing informs us that at the battle of Guilford Court House,²¹ the militia, under Generals Stevens and Lawson, "were chiefly from Augusta and Rockbridge Counties and were descendants of the Scotch-Irish who first settled that portion of Virginia." As to the "Scotch-Irish," that racial misnomer is discounted by the Irish names that crowd themselves upon the records, and as a matter of fact these men were generally known as "the Irish Line." Testimony of their prowess is found in a letter from Captain Dugald Stuart, who commanded a company of Scotch Highlanders in the British service. Writing to a relative in Guilford County, North Carolina, on October 25, 1825, in reference to the battle of Guilford Court House, Captain Stuart said: "In the advance we received a very deadly fire from the Irish Line of the American army, composed of their marksmen, lying on the ground behind a rail fence. One-half the Highlanders dropped on that spot. There ought to be a very large tumulus on that spot where our men were buried."²²

²⁰ The names of many of the Irish settlers in this section may be found in the county records of Virginia and in the county histories.

²¹ March 15, 1781.

²² Letter quoted in Schenck's *History of the Invasion of the Carolinas by Cornwallis*. Schenck, in referring to this statement, says: "The militia were called 'the Irish Line' on account of the large

A large proportion of Morgan's riflemen were enlisted in Virginia. "I expect much of them," wrote Alexander Hamilton on one occasion, for "they are a picked corps, well used to rifles and to wood fights, commanded by officers of distinguished bravery, and have been very serviceable in frequent skirmishes with the enemy. I dare say these people will soon chastise the forwardness of the Indians, and I should not be surprised if, after a little time, they make them desert their British friends. Their known inconstancy and want of perseverance give great reasons to hope a few drubbings will exceedingly discourage them and send the greatest part of them home. From every account, I am led to believe our misfortunes are greatly owing to a panic dread of the Indians. If this is so, the presence of Morgan's Corps will not fail to have the most happy effect. It would be well to propagate through the country and army such ideas of this corps as will tend to revive the spirits of both inhabitants and soldiers."²³

"The Irish were generally good Whigs, almost from necessity," writes Judge John Belton O'Neill, historian

number of Irish in the State who joined the American forces.' When some regiments of the Pennsylvania Line reached Guilford in 1781, it is related that they received large accessions from the Irish of that neighborhood. Lieutenant William Feltman of the First Regiment of the Line, in his Journal under date of December 8, 1781, says of Guilford Court House: "This place is called the Irish Settlement." (*Journal of Lieutenant William Feltman relating to the march into Virginia and the Carolinas*, published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1853.)

²³ Letter from Alexander Hamilton to Robert R. Livingston, August 18, 1777, in *Livingston MSS.* at New York Public Library.

of Newberry, South Carolina. "They had left oppression in their own country and therefore knew the value of liberty. They had long known our enemies, the British, and entertained for them a hereditary hatred,—a hatred arising out of long political oppression, and made more intense by differences of disposition, manners, race, and religion. An Irishman could not be a bloody Tory without doing violence to the generous, merciful impulses of his own nature and all his political antecedents, associations, and prejudices,—in other words, without ceasing to be an Irishman." ²⁴ And Alexander Graydon, colonel in the Continental army, in referring to the spirit which prevailed among the Irish in America, says in his *Memoirs*: "As to the genuine sons of Hibernia, it was enough for them to know that England was the antagonist. Stimulants here were wholly superfluous, and the sequel has constantly shown that in a contest with Englishmen, Irishmen, like the mettlesome coursers of Phaëthon, only required reining in." ²⁵

²⁴ *History of Newberry, S. C.*, by Judge John Belton O'Neill; Charleston, 1859.

²⁵ Colonel Alexander Graydon, *Memoirs of His Own Time*, p. 122; Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1811.

CHAPTER XII

MARION, LACEY, AND McCLURE

The Irish of South Carolina. Their historic antipathy to the English made them "excellent patriots and daring soldiers." The Franco-Irish Brigade. Franklin sought the aid of Irish officers in the French service. General Sumter recruited his shattered forces among the South Carolina Irish. Numerous Irish families in South Carolina.

LOSSING informs us that "between 1730 and 1740 an Irish settlement was planted between the Santee and Pedee Rivers in South Carolina, to which was given the name of Williamsburg Township." . . . "Far removed from the political power they had been taught to reverence, they soon became alienated. They felt neither the favors nor the oppressions of Government, and in the free wilderness their minds and hearts became schooled in that sturdy independence which developed bold and energetic action when the Revolution broke out." ¹ "It was while in the camp of Gates that Governor Rutledge commissioned Francis Marion a Brigadier, and he sped to the district of Williamsburg to lead its rising patriots to the field of active military duties." ² So we can understand why Lossing calls the Williamsburg district "a hotbed of rebellion," and why Lord Cornwallis wrote Sir Henry Clinton on December

¹ *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*, Vol. II, pp. 746-747.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 769-771.

3, 1780: "There is scarcely an inhabitant between the Pedee and the Santee that is not in arms against us."³

These statements are verified by Simms in his *Life of General Francis Marion*. "The people of Williamsburg," says Simms, "by whom Marion was summoned from the camp of Gates, were sprung generally from Irish parentage. They inherited, in common with all the descendants of the Irish in America, a hearty detestation of the English name and authority. This feeling rendered them excellent patriots and daring soldiers wherever the British lion was the object of hostility."⁴ In the Georgetown, Black River, and Great Pedee districts of South Carolina, Marion recruited his famous Second South Carolina Regiment in 1775. "Here Marion was already a favorite, and he succeeded beyond his expectations and was soon enabled to complete the full number of his companies. Another circumstance, apart from his personal popularity, facilitated his object. Some of the settlements into which they penetrated were originally founded by the Irish. The bitter heritage of hate to the English which they brought with them to America was transmitted with undiminished fervor to their descendants. It was easy to show that the power which had trampled upon the affections of their fathers and tyrannized over their rights in the old world, was aiming at the same object in the case of their children in the new. At one remove only from the exiled and suffering gen-

³ Sir Henry Clinton's *Observations on Earl Cornwallis' Answer to Clinton's Narrative*; London, 1783.

⁴ *Life of General Francis Marion*, by W. Gilmore Simms, p. 60; New York, 1844.

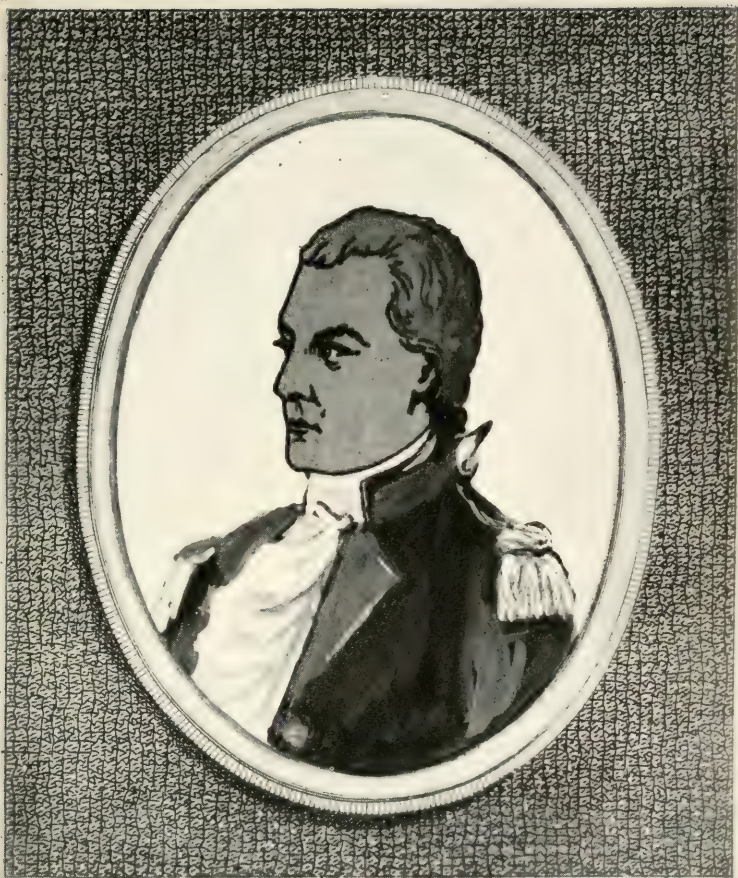
eration, the sons had as lively a recollection of the tyrannies of Britain as if the experience had been immediately their own. To this cause our recruiting officers owed some of their success in the present expedition. Some of the bravest fellows in the Second Regiment were picked up on this occasion. It was the spirit which they brought, and to which the genius of Marion gave lively exercise, that imparted a peculiar vitality at all times to his little brigade.”⁵ In referring to this Irish regiment, General Peter Horry, who served as an officer under Marion, says: “The laurels of the Second Regiment can never fade. The destructive fire of their guns gave glorious proof that they levelled their pieces like men who wished every shot to tell. They all fought like veterans, but the behaviour of some was gallant beyond compare, and the humble names of Jasper and McDonald shall be remembered when those of proud kings shall be forgotten.”⁶

Marion’s famous brigade fought at the siege of Savannah, and Simms, in referring to that engagement, says: “The slaughter for so brief an engagement had been terrible, amounting to 1,100 men, 637 French and 457 Americans. Of the former, the Irish Brigade, and of the latter, the Second South Carolina regiment particularly distinguished themselves and suffered most.”⁷ In crediting to France the assistance rendered by her to the American cause, it must not be forgotten that among

⁵ *Life of General Francis Marion*, by W. Gilmore Simms, p. 60; New York, 1844.

⁶ *Life of General Francis Marion*, by Peter Horry, p. 40; Philadelphia, 1841.

⁷ *Life of General Francis Marion*, by W. Gilmore Simms, p. 90.



REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

COUNT ARTHUR DILLON

COLONEL, REGIMENT DE DILLON, FRENCH-IRISH BRIGADE,
A NATIVE OF IRELAND.

the troops sent to America from that country were the regiments of the historic Irish Brigade, commanded respectively by Dillon and Walsh, and that the officers of these regiments actually demanded the right and the privilege to be the first to be selected to meet the British forces on the American battle-ground.⁸ General Count Dillon, in his narrative of the services rendered to the American Revolutionary cause by these Franco-Irish soldiers, says: "*On a vu que les regimens Irlandois ont été constamment employés dans toutes les guerres precedentes; ils ont toujours réclamé le privilège de marcher les premiers contre les Anglais dans tous les climats où la France leur ferait la guerre.*" ("Thus we see that the Irish regiments have been constantly employed in all the preceding wars; they have always claimed the privilege of being the first to march against the English in all countries where France has been at war against them.")

Long before our alliance with France was a *fait accompli*, the French government watched with no little interest the development of affairs in Ireland, and there is an interesting letter⁹ from Marquis de Noailles to Count de Vergennes, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, dated London, December 26, 1777, in which he related with evident satisfaction "the discouragement of the government because of its difficulties in raising six

⁸ A third regiment of the Irish Brigade—that commanded by Colonel O'Brien—was also sent to America, but was detained in the West Indies.

⁹ Stevens' *Facsimiles of Documents in European Archives relating to America*, Document No. 1803.

thousand troops for the American service," the Irish demanding, as a first consideration, the repeal of certain obnoxious laws. And even if they decided to accede to the Irish demands, the Marquis de Noailles stated as his opinion that their efforts to obtain recruits among the Irish would not succeed. Noailles also transmitted to Vergennes translations of certain speeches of members of the Irish Parliament, as showing the drift of opinion in that body as it related to the American war.

At this time Franklin was in France, and there is evidence of his activity in securing Franco-Irish support for the American cause in a letter dated Paris, January 4, 1778, from Lord Stormont, the English Minister, to Lord Weymouth, in which he said: "I am informed that Doctor Franklin, with the secret approbation of this Court, has engaged between thirty and forty of the Irish officers in this service to go and serve in the Rebel Army. Several of these are Captains, but there are more above that Rank. They are to assemble in the Isle of Rhe, where Dillon's regiment is garrisoned at present, and embark there for North America."¹⁰ But that the affair was of a more serious nature, Stormont discovered during the next month, as his letter to Lord Dartmouth of February 25, 1778, indicates. "There is reason to suspect," he wrote, "that the Irish Regiments in this service are designed for some expedition, and that it is with that view that they are quartered in the Ile de Rhe and along the coast of Brittany." They were mobilized, he thought, "either for a descent on Ire-

¹⁰ Stevens' *Facsimiles of Documents in European Archives relating to America*. Document No. 1836.

land or to the West Indies and thence to North America." ¹¹

The York and Chester districts of South Carolina, which were largely settled by Irish families, are also noted for having furnished to the patriot forces numbers of volunteers of the best sort, among whom were some frontiersmen and trappers, who, local historians tell us, were "famous for their accuracy with the rifle." Moore, in his *Life of General Edward Lacey of South Carolina*, pays the following tribute to the Irish: "In the Chester District of South Carolina, Lacey organized companies and battalions as the fortunes of war demanded and after the manner of partisan leaders, with which he annoyed the Tories greatly, taking many of them prisoners. Of these there were a few in his neighborhood, but not among the Irish. To their eternal honor let it be spoken, none of the ~~New~~ York or Chester Irish were Tories, and but few of them took British protection." General Lacey is described as "one of the most resolute and sturdy patriots of South Carolina," and one of his most noted officers was Captain John McClure, the story of whose gallantry at the battle of Rocky Mount, South Carolina, in 1780 is still handed down in the old families of that part of the State. Lossing thus refers to McClure: "He was one of the master spirits of South Carolina. He was a native of the Chester District, and his men were known as the Chester Rocky Creek Irish." ¹²

¹¹ Stevens' *Facsimiles of Documents in European Archives relating to America*. Document No. 1872.

¹² Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*, Vol. II, p. 663.

Moore relates an incident which well illustrates the eagerness of the Irish of that district to aid the patriot cause. When General Sumter's camp at Fishing Creek, South Carolina, was attacked by Tarleton on the night of August 18, 1780, the Americans were completely surprised, many being killed and wounded and about three hundred made prisoners. Sumter and Lacey made their escape with a few men into Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. "Here Lacey was ordered by General Sumter to take what men he had who had escaped with him, to go into the York and Chester Districts, collect his straggling soldiers, beat up for more men among the Irish, and reorganize his regiment with mounted infantry. All of which he accomplished in a short time and rejoined Sumter at Clem's Branch."¹³ In November following, General Sumter again called on Lacey to recruit one hundred and fifty men in the York and Chester Districts to fill up some depleted Georgia regiments. "Lacey, leaving Major Charles Mills in command of his regiment, took with him several men, all from the Emerald Isle,—a more brave and truer set of men never lived,—and in less than three days Lacey came dashing into camp with one hundred and fifty mounted men."¹⁴ When Sumter later encamped in the York District, "many of the patriots flocked to his standard and enrolled themselves under his banner."¹⁵

Incidents like these prove the mettle of the people, especially when it is borne in mind that at this very time

¹³ Moore, *Life of General Edward Lacey of South Carolina*.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

the English had the upper hand and the South was overrun by the troops of Cornwallis. As showing that General Sumter's lieutenants had good fighting material to draw from in these districts, I have taken the following surnames from the Census Returns of the York and Chester Districts, as recorded in the *First Census of the United States* (1790). The census having been taken only seven years after the close of the Revolutionary War, there can be no doubt that these families lived there at that period. Large as this list is, it gives no adequate idea of the number of Irish people who lived in these districts at that time (1) because "Heads of Families" only are included, and (2) because some of the same surnames appear several times, indicating separate families of the same name. To select, for instance, only a few of the distinctive Irish names, there are enumerated in the census returns of these districts twenty different families named Kelly; nineteen named Murphy; thirteen Rileys; eleven McCoys; ten Dunns and Higgins; nine McDowells, Duggins, and O'Neills; eight Connors and Hogans; seven Logans, Caseys, and Regans; six Powers; five McCartys, McMahons, McGraws, McConnells, Drenans, Conwells, Gillespies, Kearns, Nolands, Malones, McBrides, and Walshes; and so on down the line.

*Surnames of Heads of Families in York and Chester Districts of
South Carolina in 1790*

Adair	Brandon	Barron	Branhan
Bannon	Bradley	Barry	Brawnin
Branon	Brady	Burke	Butler

Bogan	Dunphy	Kelley	McKenny
Boland	Duggins	Kelah	McKee
Barrett	Dunn	Kern	McNeal
Caheen	Drenan	Kernaghan	McGuire
Connery	Donaly	Kearns	McQuire
Coffey	Dunagan	Kennedy	McElwean
Corbett	Dunahoo	Kenneley	McFadden
Carrell	Donadon	Kinsaloe	Mahon
Carroll	Dempsey	Kilpatrick	McHaghy
Cotrill	Doyle	Kain	McGee
Collins	Eager	Leonard	McNees
Conner	Foley	Looney	McKelvey
Connor	Farrell	Logan	McLaughlin
Cunningham	Fagan	Laughlin	McConarthy
Cotter	Flannegan	Linn	McGinn
Currey	Fitzpatrick	Laney	Miles
Cummins	Flin	Lyons	McComb
Cochran	Fitzgerrel	Leaverty	McGriff
Cassity	Ford	Lynch	McTyre
Courtney	Gill	Madden	McGowen
Coleman	Geralds	Malone	McGarrow
Cantey	Given	Murphy	McFaul
Casey	Gaston	McRory	McGlamory
Clenighan	Gilaspy	McKerley	McMain
Clary	Gillespie	McFall	McMorris
Cleary	Gilmore	McCarter	McLemore
Connoly	Garrett	McCaffrey	McCawly
Connelly	Garvin	Mehaffey	McCauley
Connel	Garrey	Melone	McCortey
Cain	Goggins	Mullins	Moore
Cane	Gilliland	McClaren	Murrow
Callahan	Higgins	McCarty	McGuara
Conway	Hagin	McCoy	McDowell
Conwell	Hogan	McCarley	McWilliams
Dougherty	Hayes	McDonald	McClure
Dohertie	Hughey	McCaharty	McClennihan
Dorety	Herron	McCafferty	McMahon
Donovan	Harty	McGaughy	McDaniel

Mitchel	McLoney	McDonneh	Reily
McMurray	McKenna	Neil	Riley
McDurnan	McBride	Nealey	Rylie
McComon	McClendon	Neely	Royley
McConor	McGinnis	Noland	Reynolds
McKee	McKain	O'Neal	Redmond
McClennon	McGomery	Orneal	Regan
McCaw	McDormand	Onail	Regin
McManus	McMullan	O'Neil	Raygan
McCrivan	McConorico	Ownail	Ragen
McCool	McCartney	O'Conner	Rowan
McNeil	McIlveen	O'Brien	Roney
McCredy	McGraw	O'Bryant	Roach
McGee ✓	McGarrity	O'Quin	Rutledge
McCroy	McCan	Odair	Shehaun
McMullin	McClenaghan	Odonald	Shields
McCowen	Mildoon	O'Shields	Sheal
McClarkin	McElmore	O'Berry	Sullivan
McConnel	McCormack	Prendergrass	Sweeney
McAlily	McClees	Phlyn	Sullivant
McCalla	McKonnell	Patten	Timmons
Manning	McCart	Powers	Ward
McCally	McMehael	Quinlin	Walsh
McHory	McClarey	Rion	

It is possible that some of the "Macs" on this list may have been Scotch, for while I have omitted such names as are known to be exclusively Scotch, I have included those that are common to both Ireland and Scotland.

CHAPTER XIII

IRISHMEN FLOCK TO THE STANDARD OF WASHINGTON

The assertions of an English historian and of a Harvard professor that "there were not three hundred real Celts in the whole Continental Line" absolutely refuted. Where the evidence is to be found. An Irish company at Bunker Hill. Washington's esteem for Irish officers. The "Volunteer" rising in Ireland aided the American cause. Letters of John Adams. Irish immigrants brought much specie to America.

MUCH similar testimony from authoritative sources can be quoted for a more lengthy review of the subject, but this will be sufficient to show that the Irish took no mean part in the achievement of American liberty. I find those Irish soldiers of the Revolution among the contingents that came from nearly every section of the Colonies. From the pine forests of Maine, the granite hills of New Hampshire, and down the green mountain slopes of Vermont, Irish soldiers flocked to the standard of Washington. Even little Rhode Island furnished a large quota of Irish soldiers, and, strange to say, so also did Massachusetts of the Puritans and Connecticut of the "Blue Laws." From the staid old Dutch provinces of New York and New Jersey came many "Dutchmen" bearing such significant names as "Kelly, Burke, and Shea." Maryland furnished several thousand Irish soldiers, and from the valleys of

Virginia, the mountains of the Carolinas, and from far out on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Georgia, and Tennessee, Irishmen and their sons, at the very outset of the struggle, answered the clarion call of patriotism and came to fight, as Irishmen know how to fight, to make this country a free and independent nation. Yet some of the historians of the time have suppressed their story, and have led the world to believe that the Irish had an insignificant part in this glorious work!

As an example of the way the facts of history have been distorted, Sir George Otto Trevelyan states that "Irish Catholics, whether in or out of Ireland, had no love for the American Revolution, and those of them who emigrated to America showed little inclination to enlist in the Republican army";¹ and he seeks to support this view by quoting from an alleged "high authority" who says: "It is probable that there were not three hundred real Celts in the whole Continental Line. The rest of the so-called 'Irish' were emigrants, or the children of emigrants, from Ulster, and were of Scotch descent."

Trevelyan was a member of the British cabinet in the administration of the great Gladstone, and had the reputation of being a man of unbiased mind, but his willingness to accept such a wild statement without confirmation reflects very little credit upon him. His *History of the American Revolution* is a voluminous work which must have involved many years of labor, but an historian who would undertake to write upon the racial or religious elements in the Revolutionary army with-

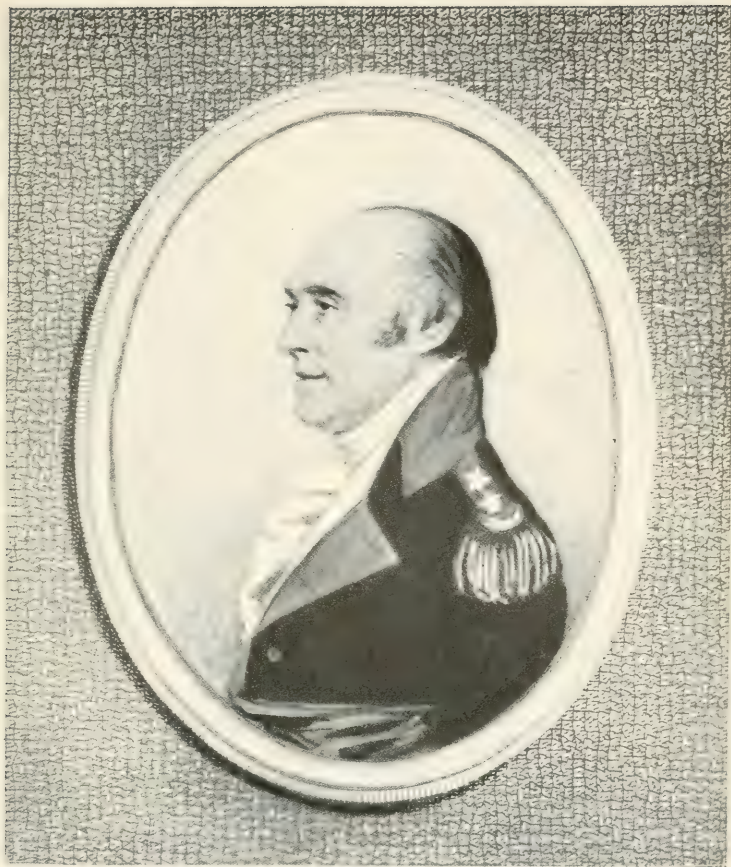
¹ *History of the American Revolution*, Vol. II, p. 32.

out examining the muster-rolls is entirely unworthy of belief. As an instance of Trevelyan's inconsistency, he admits earlier in his work ²—quite unconsciously, no doubt—that recruiting in Ireland for the American service was “a failure.”

Trevelyan's work has had a wide circulation and is found on the shelves of the leading libraries, historical societies, and institutions of learning, where it is regarded as an authority. As in the case of Bancroft's history, it has been an influential factor in moulding public opinion upon matters relating to the American Revolution; so that, when we consider the true facts of the case, it is not surprising that the Irish should feel the serious injustice that has been done to them and to the national reputation of the race.

The “high authority” to whom Trevelyan refers is Mr. Louis Clinton Hatch, a professor at Harvard University, author of a book entitled *The Administration of the American Revolutionary Army*. With the view of determining what possible basis there could be for the statement quoted by Trevelyan, I asked Mr. Hatch if he would care to explain his reasons for making an assertion that is so obviously contrary to the facts. He informs me that he did not make this statement upon his own responsibility, but “upon that of Charles J. Stillé, a Pennsylvania historian.” Furthermore, Mr. Hatch now says he “did not intend to convey the impression that there were less than three hundred Irishmen in the whole Continental Line, but only in the Pennsyl-

² *History of the American Revolution*, Vol. I.



REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

GENERAL JOHN SHEE
OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY
BORN IN COUNTY MEATH, IRELAND.

vania Line.”³ He “regrets” that his statement was “misquoted by Trevelyan,” who “changed the reference to the Pennsylvania Line to make it appear that in *the whole Continental Line* there were less than three hundred Irish soldiers.” On inquiring of Mr. Hatch if a list which I submitted to him of more than five thousand Revolutionary soldiers of ancient Irish surnames would have any influence on his mind, all he is willing to say is that “the information is very interesting,” but that, when compiling his work, he “did not consider the question of sufficient importance to make any special study of the Irish proportion”! Thus he admits that he has no knowledge of what the Irish proportion of the soldiers of the Revolution may have been, yet he was willing enough to use without question a defamatory statement concerning them! He seems entirely unconscious

³ If “there were not three hundred real Celts in the Pennsylvania Line,” it is most surprising to find Mr. Hatch admitting that “the British had thought it worth while to make a special appeal to Irish feeling”; for he quotes a paper distributed by order of Sir Henry Clinton among the soldiers of the Line, urging them to desert, which contains this sentence: “I am happy in acquainting the old countrymen [a name given to the Irish] that the affairs of Ireland are fully settled,” etc. The Revolutionary armies are usually spoken of as “the Continental Line,” and whether Professor Hatch meant to convey the impression that the Irish representation was less than three hundred in the entire Continental Line or in the Pennsylvania Line alone, is of little consequence, since the inference that has been drawn from this statement is the same in either case. Throughout his book this “high authority” refers to several prominent Irishmen like Sullivan, Duane, Governor Burke of North Carolina, and others who rendered valuable services to the American cause, yet has not a good word to say for any one of them!

of having been a party to disseminating an outrageous libel upon a people who contributed so much to the success of the Revolution; and while in that respect his work is only on a par with that of other historians, I think we can confidently leave such rash statements to those American lovers of fair play who examine the counter-evidence here presented.

On following the matter up further, I find that Stillé also did not make the assertion as to the Pennsylvania Line having had less than "three hundred real Celts" solely on his own responsibility, but upon the authority of William H. Egle, at one time librarian of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. Egle was the compiler of the original series of the *Pennsylvania Archives*, and as an example of his worth and credibility as an historian it is necessary only to point to the fact that the work proved so unreliable, and certain statements of "fact" in it were so obviously in conflict, that the Legislature ordered the Revolutionary records of the State to be examined again by a competent archivist, and the *Archives* had to be reissued in their present form!

It is amusing to note how historical writers contradict each other on this point. Bancroft thought that the men who comprised the Pennsylvania Line were a "lawless and disaffected element," and in an effort to give color to that opinion he says: "The Pennsylvania Line were composed in a large degree of new-comers from Ireland," but General Henry Lee, who personally observed their behavior in camp and field, thought they were such an extraordinarily brilliant corps that he attributed this to the fact that they were so largely Irish.

Stillé tries to contradict this by saying: "Two-thirds of his [Wayne's] force were Scotch-Irish, a race with whose fighting qualities we are all familiar, but *which are quite opposite to those which characterise the true Irish Celt*. Most of them were descendants of the Scotch-Irish immigrants of 1717-'30, and very few of them were new-comers." ⁴ From this we can see clearly the animus of Stillé, for by implication he asserts that "the true Irish Celt" comes of a race of cowards, and this statement alone is enough to condemn him as an historian. He quotes a letter from Egle which says: "With the exception of the Scotch-Irish, who formed about two-thirds of Wayne's force, the remainder were almost wholly of German parentage," adding that "few Irish came until after the War of the Revolution"!

And so we have, in succession, Egle, Stillé, Hatch, and Trevelyan, the first a discredited historian; the second prejudiced beyond question; the third admitting he knows nothing of the subject, and the last, accused of the grave charge of deliberately altering an historical statement, which, although grossly in error, affords no palliation of his offence. In this mixture of falsehood, what is the residuum of truth? Bancroft describes the majority of the men of the Pennsylvania Line as "Irish" so as to explain what he calls their "lawlessness and disaffection," but Stillé and Egle insist they could not have been "Irish" because they were so brave and true! Impartial readers, in a quandary as to which statement to accept, will assuredly be inclined to cast them all aside

⁴ *Life of Wayne*, pp. 248-250.

and decide from the facts themselves, and we may await the verdict in perfect confidence that justice will be done to a people who have been so much maligned.

Ordinarily no attention should be paid to such obviously false statements as those just quoted, but it may be remarked that, in order to determine what ought to be a fairly accurate multiple of three hundred to use in computing the total number of "real Celts" who fought for American independence, a reference by these historians to some real source of information, such as the muster-rolls of the Revolutionary army, would have been advisable. The records themselves furnish the most eloquent refutation of such statements, and probably no more effective rejoinder can be made than the list of characteristic Irish names selected from the vast number of such names appearing on the Revolutionary muster-rolls, which will be found at pages 443-526, and of which the following is a summary by surnames:

<i>Surnames of Revolutionary Soldiers</i>	<i>Number on Record</i>	<i>Surnames of Revolutionary Soldiers</i>	<i>Number on Record</i>
Burke	221	O'Brien	231
Connolly	243	O'Neill	178
Connor, O'Connor	327	Reilly	285
Dougherty	248	Ryan	322
Kelly	695	Sullivan	266
McCarthy	331		—
Murphy	494	Total	3841

Each man's full name, with a reference to the regimental unit to which he belonged, will be found in the list at page 443, and it will be noted that a large percentage of them belonged to the Pennsylvania Line.

By way of further illustration, I have drawn off the names in the cases of ninety other selected Irish surnames, and a summary of these is as follows:

<i>Surnames of Revolutionary Soldiers</i>	<i>Number on Record</i>	<i>Surnames of Revolutionary Soldiers</i>	<i>Number on Record</i>
Barry	99	Flynn, Flinn	138
Brady	127	Gallagher	108
Brannon, Brennan	93	Gorman	54
Byrne, Byrnes, Burns	187	Grady, McGrady	45
Callaghan	150	Haggerty	62
Cassidy	62	Healy, Haley	86
Carroll	183	Hennessy	44
Casey	104	Hogan	115
Cavanaugh	69	Hurley	53
Cain, Cane, Kane, McKean, O'Cane	155	Kearney, Carney	92
Clancy	37	Keating	64
Crowley	54	Kenny, McKenny	164
Daly, Dailey, Dayley	205	Keeffe	44
Delaney	71	Lafferty	61
Dempsey	72	Leary	94
Donohoe	73	Lynch	128
Donnelly	155	Madden	81
Doran	38	Malone	76
Donovan	72	Mahony	89
Dowling	53	Maloney	97
Doyle	125	Magee, McGee	165
Driscoll, Driskell	42	Magrath, McGrath, McGraw	97
Duffy	78	Moran	44
Dugan, Duggan	90	Mulholland	40
Dwyer, Dwire	57	McBride	108
Farrell, Ferrell	142	Malloy	89
Fitzgerald	184	McConnell, Connell	180
Fitzpatrick	67	Mooney	74
Fitzsimmons	36	McCann	88
Flanagan	59	McCaffrey, McCafferty	39
		McCormack	154

<i>Surnames of Revolutionary Soldiers</i>	<i>Number on Record</i>	<i>Surnames of Revolutionary Soldiers</i>	<i>Number on Record</i>
McCloskey	45	Nolan, Noland	90
McDermott	47	O'Donnell	36
McDonough	34	O'Hara	58
McDonnell, McDaniel	139	Prendergast	40
McGahy, McGahan	72	Quigley	48
McGinnis	112	Quinn	122
McGowan	69	Regan	44
McGuire	168	Roche, Roach	69
McLaughlin	223	Rourke	38
McMahon	143	Shea, Shay	73
McManus	72	Sheehan	66
McMullen, Mullen, Mullins	231	Sheridan	41
McNally	90	Sweeney, McSweeney	115
McNamara	47	Walsh, Welsh	201

Total for ninety surnames 8352

If the learned historians responsible for the statement that "there were not three hundred real Celts" in the Revolutionary army desire to do so they may eliminate all the non-Irish names from these lists, but there will probably be enough "real Celts" left over to suggest the reflection that they have committed a gross libel upon the Irish who were in America during the struggle for independence, which their American descendants of the present day have every reason to resent.

Cases will be noted where certain names appear more than once on the list at pages 443-526, but an analysis will show that no individual name has been repeated. For example, the name of John Kelly appears on the list eighty-eight times, because there are eighty-eight separate and distinct soldiers of that name entered on the

rolls, and the same remark applies to all other cases where the same name may appear to be listed more than once. The well-known fondness of Irish families for certain baptismal names will help to explain this, and a comparison of the numerical designations of the various regiments in which these men enlisted will also serve to make it clear. One of the interesting features noted in examining the Revolutionary rolls is the large number of men bearing the prenomen "Patrick" or "Patt." Not that it is claimed that all such were native Irishmen, because in those days the patrician name Patrick was popular among some of the Highland Scotch families; and while it is probable that some of these men were Scotch, their number must have been very inconsiderable, because in the majority of these cases the surnames are those which are strictly indigenous to Ireland. One cannot be mistaken, for example, as to the racial origin of the forty-two Patrick Kellys, the thirty-four Patrick Murphys, the thirty-five Patrick Sullivans and Patrick Ryans, or the forty-three Patrick Reillys, and so on, that are listed on the muster-rolls; while, on the other hand, it is not at all improbable that some of the Patrick McDonalds or the Patrick Browns, whose names appear on the rolls, may have been Scotch. The total number of "Patrick" and "Patt" on the Revolutionary rolls is approximately two thousand.

These lists contain only a percentage of the Irish names that are found on the muster-rolls and other records of the Revolution, for there is hardly a single family name in Irish nomenclature that does not appear in one form or another in the records. As already indicated,

only one hundred Irish surnames, about which there can be no question of their racial origin, have been selected as examples; and even of the particular names selected, the list is far from being complete because of the number of missing rolls. But the answer which these lists contain is sufficient for present purposes. Undoubtedly many well-meaning people have been influenced by statements similar to those made by Trevelyan, Hatch, Stillé, and others, which partly explains why, when the claim is made that the Irish had a hand in the fight for American independence, it is sometimes questioned and not infrequently derided altogether. The original muster-rolls containing the names here given are filed, some in the State Archives and some at the War Department in Washington, while others are in the custody of historical societies. All have been published by official authority, and these publications have been fully authenticated, so that any one desirous of verifying the correctness of these lists may readily do so by consulting the published records, such as the following, which are to be found generally at the leading public libraries and historical societies, and copies of all of which are on file at the Library of Congress:

Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors who served in the War of the Revolution, compiled and published by the Secretary of State; Boston, 1891.

New York in the Revolution, compiled by James Roberts, State Comptroller, from the Archives of the Secretary of State; Albany, 1898.

New York State Archives, compiled by Berthold Fernow and published by authority of the State Legislature.

- Calendar of Historical Manuscripts relating to the War of the Revolution* in the office of the Secretary of State; Albany, 1868.
- Archives of Pennsylvania*, published under the direction of the Secretary of the Commonwealth; Harrisburg, 1906.
- Delaware Archives*, published by the Public Archives Commission of Delaware; Wilmington, 1911.
- Records of Service of Connecticut Men in the War of the Revolution*, compiled by authority of the General Assembly; Hartford, 1889.
- State Records of Georgia*, official State publication in twenty-five volumes.
- State Records of New Hampshire*, published by authority of the Legislature; Manchester, New Hampshire, 1889.
- Archives of Maryland*, published by authority of the State, under the direction of the Maryland Historical Society; Baltimore, 1898.
- The publications of the State Library of Virginia, Vols. VIII and IX.
- Official Register of the Officers and Men of New Jersey in the Revolutionary War*, by William S. Stryker, Adjutant-General; Trenton, 1872.
- Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution*, by Francis B. Heitman; Washington, D. C., 1894.
- Records of the Revolutionary War, containing the Military and Financial Correspondence of the Distinguished Officers*, by W. T. R. Saffell, Counsellor and Agent for Revolutionary Claims; New York, 1858.
- The *Collections* of the various historical societies.

These are suggested merely as examples of numerous similar and reliable sources of information that are accessible to every one desirous of examining into the subject. In the publications named may be found verbatim copies of many of the muster-rolls of the Revolutionary regiments credited to each province and State, which were copied in all cases from the originals; and for one

who has any doubts or lacks information about the racial composition of the army of the Revolution, a glance at some of these official lists will prove a veritable surprise.

In so far as New England is concerned, two of its leading historians are especially bad offenders in this respect. Mr. Lodge asserts that the population of Massachusetts at the time of the Revolution was "of almost pure English blood, with a small infusion of Scotch-Irish from Londonderry."⁵ And Palfrey glibly informs us that "the people of New England are a singularly unmixed race," adding that "there is probably not a County in England occupied by a population of purer English blood than they." Both imply by these statements that if there were any Irish in New England before or during the Revolution, they were such a negligible quantity as not to be worth considering. Yet the Records of the Selectmen of the Town of Boston, the Vital Records of every New England town, the Church, Land, and Probate Records, the old Town Books, the Registers of the New England Historic and Genealogical Society, and almost every record and publication covering the Colonial and Revolutionary periods in New England, contain, in the aggregate, thousands of names which no intelligent person, much less a learned historian, could possibly mistake for anything but of old Irish origin. On the Revolutionary muster-rolls of Massachusetts there are approximately three thousand Irish names, but while there were plenty of Lodges in

⁵ I have a letter from Mr. Lodge in which he gravely informs me that "General John Sullivan was a Scotch-Irishman"!



REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRAYED LEVINS

GENERAL RICHARD MONTGOMERY
OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY, BORN IN COUNTY DONEGAL, IRELAND.

Massachusetts, one searches in vain for one soldier of the name on the Revolutionary rolls!

In the Revolutionary records alone of their native State, these historians could have found more than sufficient data to correct any erroneous impressions which they may have had concerning the racial composition of the inhabitants of New England. They would find such a constant recurrence of names of unmistakably Celtic origin as to suggest the possibility, if they were at all governed by the dictates of conscience, that in the aspect in which their work was presented to the public they were doing a gross injustice to the Irish who helped in achieving the independence of their country. But the conclusion inevitably forces itself upon the mind of any person acquainted with the facts that it was far from the intention of these gentlemen to do justice to any but the Puritanical element, and that their paramount object was to create in the minds of their readers the impression that everything worth relating in New England history had a common Anglo-Saxon origin. Fifty characteristic Irish surnames alone show a total of two thousand two hundred on the Massachusetts muster-rolls, and when we keep in mind the fact that nearly every well-known Irish family name is represented on these rolls, and consider that there must have been a number of soldiers of Irish birth or descent bearing non-Irish names, we can readily see that the number on the Massachusetts rolls which should be credited to the Irish must have been far greater than three thousand.

Mr. Lodge has been accused of racial prejudice, and those who have brought this charge against him believe

they are fully justified, because he deliberately denies to Ireland any credit for the part taken by her sons in the war for American liberty. As a student and writer of history, it is scarcely possible that he does not know that one of the most heroic incidents of the Revolution, which took place in his own State, stands out in the records to the imperishable glory of Ireland's sons. For the men who stood behind "the rail fence" at Bunker Hill on that memorable seventeenth of June, 1775, and held in check two battalions of English soldiers, thus saving the devoted Continentals from annihilation, were Irish almost to a man and were commanded by Irish officers.⁶

The eighth and ninth annual reports of the State Library Board of Virginia and Volume XVIII of the *Archives of Maryland* are devoted exclusively to tabulations of the Revolutionary soldiers from those States, and in these volumes may be seen the names of more

⁶ The breastwork at Bunker Hill known as "the rail fence" was defended by a company of soldiers from Bedford, New Hampshire, whose officers were Colonel Daniel Moore, Major John Goffe, Captain Thomas McLaughlin, and Lieutenant John Patten, all natives of Ireland; and in published historical sketches of the town of Bedford and in the Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society (Vol. I, p. 291) may be seen the names of the men of the company, the majority of whom were Irish born or sons of Irish immigrants. Among the Americans killed and mortally wounded at Bunker Hill are recorded Majors Andrew McClary and William Moore and soldiers named Daniel McGrath, John Barrett, Thomas Collins, George Shannon, Caleb Dalton, William McCrillis, Joseph Broderick, John Dillon, William Mitchell, Roger Cox, Matthew Cummings, Daniel Evens, Timothy Evins, Peter Poor, Thomas Doyle, and Daniel Callahan, some of whom are known to have

than 3000 soldiers from Virginia and 4600 from Maryland, all of Irish names. In *New York in the Revolution* there are 2083 such names, with entire rosters of the enlisted men missing in several instances.

Heitman's work is a compilation of the names of the officers of the Continental army, with concise references to their services, and in this noted book there are listed upward of six hundred officers of Irish names in the Continental Line alone. As a matter of fact, Heitman's list is incomplete, for in the Revolutionary records may be found references to a large number of officers of Irish birth or descent who are not mentioned by Heitman, and a complete list of their names, with references to the regiments to which they were attached, will be found in the Appendix. This list contains one thousand five hundred names, all told, and, as will be noted therefrom, it furnishes an absolute refutation of the statements made by such historians as Trevelyan, Stillé, Hatch, and others. A very limited number of the characteristic Irish surnames among the officers furnish the most damning proof of the apparently deliberate attempts of these historians to hide the truth concerning the extent to which the Irish and their descendants participated in the Revolutionary struggle. A summary of fifty of the most prominent Irish surnames shows more than five hundred officers of various ranks.

been natives of Ireland; and among the prisoners was Lawrence Sullivan. The names of these men, with the exception of Sullivan, are inscribed on the Bunker Hill memorial tablet on Winthrop Square, Charlestown, Massachusetts.

<i>Surnames of Officers of the Army and Navy of the Revolution</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Surnames of Officers of the Army and Navy of the Revolution</i>	<i>Number</i>
Barry	8	Lynch	10
Boyle	8	Magee, McGee ✓	17
Brady	10	Molloy	7
Burke	18	Murphy	14
Butler	26	McBride	11
Byrne	6	McConnell	13
Casey	6	McCarthy	15
Connell, Connelly	11	McCormick	12
Carroll	5	McCleary	6
Connor	17	McFadden	5
Conway	8	McGinnis	4
Dillon	6	McGowan	6
Daly	4	McGuire	14
Dougherty	12	McLaughlin	10
Dooley	5	McMullen, Mullen	14
Donnelly	4	O'Brien	7
Dugan	7	O'Hara	7
Fitzgerald	11	O'Neill	6
Flynn	6	Powers	12
Gallagher	4	Quigley	8
Hogan	12	Quinn	5
Gillespie	6	Reilly	13
Higgins	16	Roche	7
Kearney, Carney	7	Ryan	15
Kelly	30	Sullivan	13
Kenny, McKenny	14	Walsh, Welsh	21
Leary	6		
		Total	544

Masters of vessels engaged in privateering are included among the officers, for the reason that they were as much a part of the fighting forces of the Revolution as any of the officers of the army or navy, and many are the stories of daring and adventure that are told of the

“Yankee privateersmen” who preyed on British commerce and brought into American ports numerous prizes of war, the cargoes of which furnished important and seasonable supplies for the Continental army. Much of the naval history of Revolutionary times centers round the privateersmen, and, as an American historian has said, “our privateers during the Revolutionary war were a most important, if not predominant, feature of our early sea power.” Not a few of the hardy commanders of American privateers during our two wars with England were Irishmen, and in the fugitive references I have found to the personnel of their crews it is also seen that they had in their command many a patriot son of “the fighting race.” Indeed, those Irish mariners of the two wars for independence have left a record in American history that is well worthy of preservation, and it will stand as an imperishable monument to the gallant part they played in the defence of their adopted country.

The complete list of officers at pages 393-440 contains many other names of ancient Irish origin, but the foregoing fifty names are selected merely to show how readily and effectively the statements of the anti-Irish historians can be refuted. It is a grievous injustice that these statements should have had currency as “history” for so many years without challenge. Possibly it may be claimed that some of the names listed are Scotch, and that assumption may be correct to some extent, although in such cases I have been careful to include only those names that are common among both the Irish and

the Scotch.⁷ But even if we give this point of view the widest latitude and eliminate all names of whose Irish origin there may be the slightest doubt, there will still be left not less than a thousand unquestionably Irish names among the officers of the American army and navy of the Revolution.

That some of these Irish officers were important men may be assumed from the warm regard which Washington manifested toward them. For his aides-de-camp he chose, in succession, Joseph Reed, the son of an Irish immigrant; Joseph Carey, Stephen Moylan, John Fitzgerald, and James McHenry;⁸ and his esteem for Sul-

⁷ I have no doubt that some will object to the inclusion of such names as Generals Knox, Wayne, and Thomson, Colonels John Nixon, Francis and John Barber, Andrew Lewis, Ephraim Blaine, Walter and Charles Stewart, Major John Caldwell and Captain John Dunlap, and possibly others. Knox was descended from a Scotch family which settled in Ireland in the early part of the eighteenth century. But his father and grandfather were both natives of Ireland, and so also were the father and grandfather of General Wayne, and it is said that the first of the Waynes in Ireland came from England. Thomson, Lewis, Blaine, the Stewarts, Dunlap, and Caldwell were natives of Ireland; Nixon was the son of a Wexford Irishman, and the Barbers were the sons of Patrick Barber, an immigrant from County Longford, Ireland, to Orange County, New York, in 1729. These men considered themselves Irish, and all of them, with the exception of the Barbers, were members of the Society of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick of Philadelphia, and that Society had no more active member than General Anthony Wayne. General Wayne was also a member of the Hibernian Society of Philadelphia, and General Knox was a member of the Charitable Irish Society of Boston. These statements can be verified by the published records of the societies.

⁸ Moylan was a native of Cork; Fitzgerald, of Wicklow; and McHenry, of Antrim.

livan, Montgomery, Hand, Butler, Irvine, Thomson, Barry, and other Irish commanders was displayed on many occasions. The loss of no officer who fell in battle was so much regretted by Washington and the Congress as that of General Montgomery,⁹ for his many amiable qualities had procured him an uncommon share of private affection, and his great abilities an equal proportion of public esteem. "Being a sincere lover of liberty, he had engaged in the American cause from principle, and quitted the enjoyment of an easy fortune and the highest domestic felicity to take an active share in the fatigues and dangers of a war instituted for the defence of a community of which he was an adopted member. His well-known character was almost equally esteemed by the friends and foes of the side which he had espoused. In America he was celebrated as a martyr to the liberties of mankind, in Great Britain as a misguided man, sacrificing to what he supposed to be the rights of his country." So wrote the historian Ramsay,¹⁰ who knew him well.

Washington's friendship for one of his Irish officers, General Andrew Lewis, is one of the traditions of the Valley of Virginia. Lewis was a native of County Donegal, Ireland, and was an early settler in Augusta County, Virginia. Four of his brothers, two of whom were also born in Donegal, were officers of the Colonial and afterwards of the Revolutionary forces, and one of them, Colonel Charles Lewis, was called "the idol of the

⁹ General Montgomery was a native of Raphoe, County Donegal, Ireland.

¹⁰ *History of the American Revolution*, Vol. I, p. 312.

army." General Lewis was one of the most striking figures of the Revolutionary army. He is described as "a man of tremendous size and great physical strength and agility and a form of the most exact symmetry," and was "beloved by all with whom he came in contact." It is related that in the year 1768, while visiting Fort Stanwix during negotiations for a treaty with the Indians, the Governor of New York, in commenting on his majestic figure and commanding appearance, said of him: "He looks like a genius of the forest and the very ground seems to tremble under him as he walks!" This brave patriot took part in many of the battles of the Colonial wars, and from 1754 to 1781—beginning with the battle of Great Meadows and ending with Yorktown—he was continually engaged in the service of his country, and all that time was "the true friend and companion of Washington." In the border warfare he served as Major in the Virginia regiment commanded by Washington, by whom he was highly esteemed for his great courage and skill, and as Commander of the army of Virginia his most noted exploit was the rout of the Indians at the battle of Point Pleasant in 1774. It is known that Washington considered General Lewis one of the foremost military men of the country and it is an interesting historical fact that, prior to his own appointment, he recommended Lewis to Congress as Commander-in-chief of the army of the Revolution. This statement may be verified by several authorities, especially by reference to historical works concerning the trans-Allegheny pioneers and the Valley of Virginia,



REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

EDWARD HAND

COLONEL AND ADJUTANT GENERAL, CONTINENTAL ARMY
BORN IN KINGS COUNTY, IRELAND.

and to the publications of the Virginia and West Virginia Historical Societies.

From some of the publications referred to there may also be obtained an idea of the personnel of the different regimental companies, and indeed some of the company rosters look more like the parish registers of a country town in a Gaelic-speaking district of Ireland than the rolls of a body of soldiers who fought for the liberties of a land three thousand miles away from their ancestral homes. In examining the muster-rolls, one is struck by the frequency with which certain very old Irish names appear, and the manner in which such names crowd themselves upon the record makes it an intensely interesting feature of the subject. I think it would serve an estimable purpose, and would clear the air very much, if some one with the time and the taste for such work would publish a complete list of the Irish names and group them so as to show how many of each are represented on the Revolutionary records. Two very good examples of this are the names Kelly and Murphy, of which I have found 1189, all told, on the muster-rolls; and in searching for material for a sketch of the McCarthy family in the United States, I found on the rolls 331 persons of that ancient Irish name, and in all the Thirteen Colonies I could find only two McCarthys classified as "loyalists." One was Isaac and the other Dennis McCarty, both residents of Massachusetts. We can understand how Isaac may have "gone wrong," but that Dennis should have had "the bad drop" in him, so foreign to men of his name in Revolutionary times, is truly shocking! It is like the story told of the New York poli-

tician who never failed to poll in his district a one hundred per cent. vote for "the party." But once a lone Republican vote was cast, and although they ransacked the district high and low to locate "the rascal," it always remained a mystery how "a black Republican" was ever allowed to come into that district!

Apart altogether from the question as to what the numerical strength of the Irish in the Revolutionary army may have been, there is one important circumstance which contributed, although indirectly, to the success of the Revolution, but with which writers on American history do not seem to have been impressed, or perhaps have not noticed. I refer to the political agitation in Ireland which culminated in the revolt of the Irish Volunteers. In the *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution* may be read many accounts sent to Washington and the Continental Congress, by John Adams and Arthur Lee, of the agitation for independence in Ireland, of the raising of volunteers, the debates in Parliament, and of the generally disaffected state of the country, which kept England in constant alarm.

The revolt of the Irish Volunteers was the concomitant of the American Revolution. The voice of Liberty in America overleaped the seas and awakened the people of Ireland to a sense of their political thralldom. "They asked one another," writes an Irish historian, "whence that thralldom, and why should they submit to it any longer. Armed men arose everywhere. The Government stood astounded; to disarm the Volunteers was beyond their power. . . . Contending terrors agitated

the English administration. America in revolt, Ireland about to revolt, and the threatened French invasion assuming formidable proportions!" The ministers appealed to Ireland, but in vain, for the Volunteers could neither be seduced by false promises nor alarmed by threats. "Within one year," wrote Adams to the President of Congress from Paris on April 25, 1780, "upwards of forty-six thousand Volunteers have been raised in Ireland and are arming and drilling."¹¹ On May 21, 1779, Lee wrote from Paris to the Committee of Foreign Affairs: "Ireland is nearly in the state we were in six years ago. The people are supplying themselves with arms, meeting and exercising, and the government not venturing to interpose. They have entered into a non-importation agreement, and this spirit is in a train towards independency, which nothing but the most wise and healing measures will stop."¹²

On April 25, 1780, Adams wrote Congress on affairs in Ireland, rejoicing in the help which the political situation in Ireland was giving to the American cause. He quoted a letter from one of his correspondents in Dublin, relating to a proposition made in the Irish Parliament "that four war-ships be built which shall constantly cruise on the coasts of Ireland," the object being to protect the merchant vessels trading with America, "thus showing plainly Ireland's design," wrote Adams' correspondent, "to separate herself from England and to owe her safety only to herself." Two weeks later, Adams wrote the President of Congress about

¹¹ *Diplomatic Correspondence*, Vol. V, pp. 18-24.

¹² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 243.

“the political shackles which the people of Ireland are endeavouring to shake off,” and gave a complete description of Grattan’s historic resolution in the House on the 19th of April, declaring for independence.¹³

On June 1, 1780, Adams sent to Congress a long account of meetings of citizens in Dublin asserting their right to independence, quoting in full their resolutions, and showing that there was every hope for their success “if the war in America continues.” In transmitting this news, Adams said: “The slightest circumstance may blow up the flames of war between the two Kingdoms, which would have been done some weeks ago if the regular officers of the King’s troops had not given way to the Dublin Volunteers”; and so important did Adams consider information of this character that he again wrote the President of Congress describing fully a clash between the Volunteers and the King’s troops in the streets of Dublin, in which, he said, “the people declared themselves in favour of the Volunteers.”

Harassed on every side, taunted in Parliament not only with the failure of the Irish to enlist, but with the daring of the Volunteers in openly drilling and preparing for war, England’s pride was humbled, and, as Adams said in one of his letters to Congress,¹⁴ “the British Empire is crumbling to pieces like a rope of sand.” The importance of apprising Congress of the situation in Ireland is plainly evident. It was joyous news to the Americans and it heartened the leaders to

¹³ *Diplomatic Correspondence*, Vol. V, p. 86.

¹⁴ Dated March 24, 1780. *Diplomatic Correspondence*, Vol. IV, p. 435.

learn that England had other formidable troubles to contend with right at her own doors, and that she would be compelled to maintain in Ireland large bodies of troops which otherwise could be utilized in America.¹⁵ The debt which America owes to Ireland for this one circumstance alone is not possible to estimate, and now that we review the true story of these historic events, we can understand what a tremendous tactical error Ireland made when she failed to take advantage of the opportunity at the close of the American war. During the peace negotiations between England and America at Paris, and the later negotiations for a treaty of commerce between the two countries, no mention was made of the situation in Ireland, and the Irish Parliament did not demand representation, notwithstanding the great desire in Ireland for a separate treaty of commerce with America. But the Parliament which thus blasted Ireland's future was largely comprised of the same political corruptionists who, seventeen years later, sold their country for British gold.

Another circumstance of some importance which American historians generally have not noticed is men-

¹⁵ The English historian Green thus describes how the demands of the Irish Volunteers aided America: "So real was the danger that England was forced to give way. The first demands, in effect, were claims for national independence. But there was no means of resisting them [the Volunteers]. In the face of such a rising close at hand, it became plain to even the most dogged of Tories that it was impossible to continue a strife across three thousand miles of sea; and to deal with the attitude of Ireland became even a more pressing need of the Ministry which followed Lord North than the need of dealing with America." (*Green's History of the English People*, Vol. IV, p. 266.)

tioned by the Irish historian Marmion, and verified by Spencer in his *History of the United States*, namely, the financial aid which Irish immigrants brought with them to the Colonies a few years prior to the outbreak of the Revolution. The Marquis of Donegal, an absentee nobleman, was one of the largest landowners in Ireland, and in 1771, upon the expiration of the leaseholds on his estate, he decided to increase the rentals to such a degree that the tenants rebelled, and on their refusal to accede to the exactions of the landlord, the latter ordered wholesale clearances to be carried out on his estate. The tenants organized themselves into a body known as "The Hearts of Steel" for the purpose of fighting the evictors, but on the arrival of a large body of soldiers they determined to offer only passive resistance. Meetings were called in various places, and on the advice of their leaders the farmers determined to sell out their belongings and emigrate to America. During the three ensuing years every ship that sailed from Irish ports for the Western Continent carried large numbers of those self-expatriated Irish families.

"The effect of this agrarian insurrection," says Marmion, "which extended to adjoining Counties, seriously affected the welfare of the Province of Ulster and was instrumental in extending liberty to the whole human race. Thousands of men, driven from their holdings, dissatisfied with the country and expressing the deepest resentment against the Irish landlords, emigrated to America. Arriving there at a critical moment, and actuated by their wrongs, they joined the armies of Washington, then contending for independence, and contrib-

uted by their numbers, as well as by their courage and conduct, to separate the United States from the British Crown." Marmion shows that in 1771, 1772, and 1773, eighty-eight passenger-carrying ships sailed for America from the ports of Belfast, Derry, and Newry, and he estimates the number of souls on board at not less than twenty-five thousand.

"These emigrants," says Marmion, "were chiefly farmers and manufacturers, who, it was calculated, by converting their property into specie, which they took with them abroad, deprived Ulster of one-fourth of its circulating medium, which consisted altogether of specie, and also a portion equal thereto of the most valuable part of the population."¹⁶ While Young does not agree with Marmion in the essential details, he says that the Irish emigrants "took with them to America considerable sums of money received from the sale of their leaseholds, the hardship of which was supposed to have driven them to America."¹⁷ Spencer, in referring to the exodus from Ireland at this period, says: "In the years 1771 and 1772, the number of emigrants to America from Ireland alone amounted to seventeen thousand three hundred and fifty. Almost all of them emigrated at their own charge; a great majority of them consisted of persons employed in the linen manufacture, or farmers possessed of some property which they converted into money and carried with them. As most of the emigrants, and particularly those from Ireland and

¹⁶ Anthony Marmion, *Ancient and Modern History of the Maritime Ports of Ireland*, p. 333.

¹⁷ *Tour in Ireland*, Part II, p. 30.

Scotland, were personally discontented with their treatment in Europe, their accession to the Colonial population, it might reasonably be supposed, had no tendency to diminish or counteract the hostile sentiments towards Britain which were daily gathering force in America.”¹⁸

Young says that when Lord Donegal's tenants sold their leaseholds they received an average of “from thirty to forty pounds for them,” and as there were at least four thousand leases sold,¹⁹ it is probable that those Irish immigrants brought with them to America not less than £200,000 in specie.²⁰ The learned historian Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, commenting on this, says: “Could Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, enlighten us as to the effect from bringing this amount of specie into the country, we would realize that the benefit was an incalculable one. What credit we had in the country after the paper money had depreciated was based upon this specie throughout the greater part of the Revolution. Among many instances to this purpose was its use in moving the army to Virginia with such expedition as to ensure the capture of Cornwallis, which event contributed more to the termination of the war

¹⁸ Dr. James A. Spencer, *History of the United States*, Vol. I.

¹⁹ Walpole's *Last Journals*, Vol. VIII.

²⁰ A despatch from Ireland on this subject printed in the *New York Journal or General Advertiser* of July 15, 1773, said that the amount of money paid for their passage by sixteen thousand emigrants who left Ireland for America in the years 1771 and 1772 was £66,725, and that “most of these people carried money with them, in evidence of which it was computed that one ship last year had no less than £4000 in specie on board.”

than any other, and without the credit based on this specie the struggle would have terminated long before the alliance was made with France.”²¹

It is conceded by all historians that as the war continued the value of Continental paper money was constantly depreciating, and, as Dr. David Ramsay states:²² “Many of those who were disaffected to the Revolution absolutely refused to take the bills of Congress, even in the first stage of the war, when the real and nominal value was the same.” Moreover, the measures adopted by Congress to enforce acceptance of paper money “only operated on the patriotic few, who were disposed to sacrifice everything in the cause of their country and who implicitly obeyed every mandate of their rulers. Others disregarded them, and either refused to part with their commodities, or demanded and obtained their own prices.”²³

In war a healthy treasury is no less essential than an abundance of men, for in the long run the deepest purse decides the contest as often as the largest army. It would have been impossible for Congress to have con-

²¹ *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, Vol. II.

²² *History of the American Revolution*, Vol. II, pp. 12-22.

²³ *Ibid.* Some of Washington's letters show that the greatest embarrassment he suffered during the war arose from the dearth of gold and silver coin, because the troops had on various occasions declined to accept Continental paper money, on account of its depreciated value. In a letter from Washington to the President of Congress, dated May 27, 1780, he said that the men had refused the paper money, claiming that “it was of little value at all,” which was the chief cause of the mutinies among the Pennsylvania and Connecticut troops in 1780 and of the New Jersey troops in the next year. (*The Writings of Washington*, Vol. VIII, p. 288.)

tinued the war without a sufficiency of money, for without the wherewithal to purchase supplies and meet their obligations to the soldiers, the most patriotic and self-sacrificing army must in time have succumbed. Therefore, in estimating the part played by Ireland's sons in the achievement of American liberty, it is not alone the number or quality of the fighting men that must be considered, but the financial aid which those Irish immigrants contributed almost at the beginning of the contest.

CHAPTER XIV

IRISH IMMIGRATION PRIOR TO THE REVOLUTION

Erroneous impressions received from historical works. Irish Signers of the Declaration of Independence. Irish Framers of the Constitution. Irish Members of the Continental Congress. Irish Commanding Officers of the Army and Navy. Irish Governors. John Sullivan, the Limerick Schoolmaster. Shipping between Irish and American ports.

ONE great reason for the dearth of information upon the subject of the Irish in the American Revolution may be attributed to the failure of the leading historians to relate the facts concerning immigration from Ireland in Colonial times. From the standpoint of numbers alone, the records indicate that the Irish were one of the important elements comprising the population of America about the time of the Revolution, and some historians have been deservedly criticized for their evidently premeditated suppression of the facts concerning them. But, after all, the historians are not alone to blame for this, for the descendants of the Irish immigrants themselves have displayed a lamentable lack of interest in the subject; and while they have neglected the story of their race in the Western Hemisphere, the descendants of the English Colonists have had historians who have made it their business to supply the world with histories of their own making. Hence it is evident that the "Anglo-Saxon" has re-

ceived more than his proper share of attention in American history, while the contributions of the Irish to the upbuilding of the country have been so scantily treated as to create the impression that they were an entirely negligible factor.

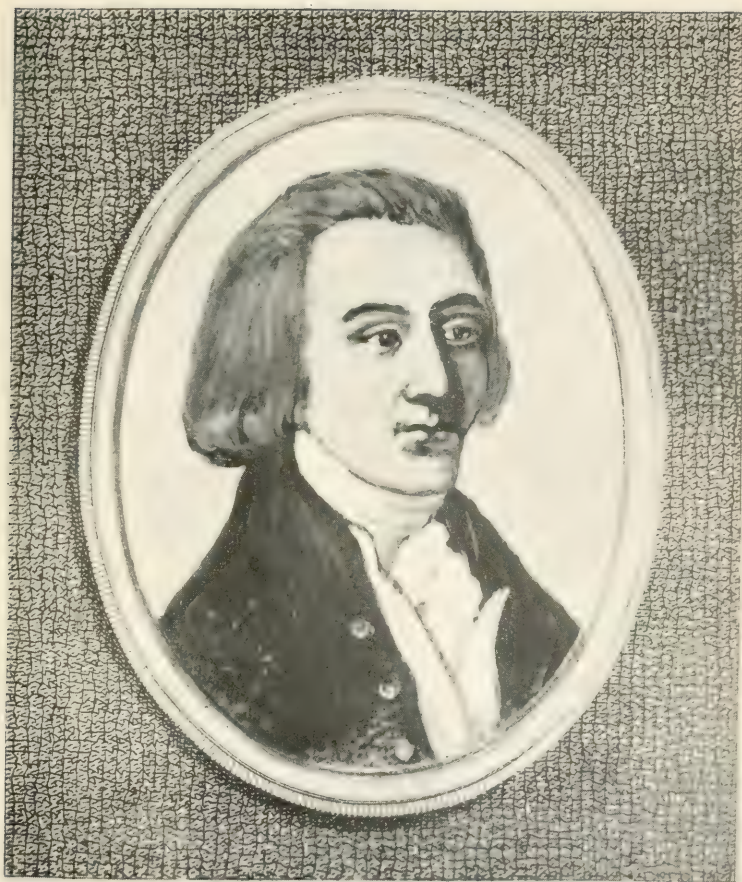
No claim is made that the Irish should be singled out for special treatment by historians, any more than any other of the racial elements comprising the population of the Colonies; but where there is such a vast amount of data concerning the Colonial Irish available from the records, nearly all of which has been ignored by those leading historians upon whom the reading public place so much dependence, it must be assumed that the facts were suppressed for some ulterior purpose. On the other hand, some historians, while not entirely disregarding the facts as to their numbers, characterize the Irish as an entirely unimportant element who contributed nothing to the making of the nation. It is true that, in the aggregate, a great number of Irish pioneers are mentioned in local town and county histories and genealogies, and that credit has been given to them ungrudgingly for the part they played in building up those local communities. Writers of local history have not usually been so susceptible as the general historians to the teachings of the Anglo-Saxon cult, and being honest men, as a rule they wrote down what they found in the records and candidly related the local traditions, without drawing invidious distinctions as to races and creeds. Consequently we find in some of the local histories and genealogies a great deal of reliable data relat-

ing to the pioneer settlers. This also applies in a large measure to the work of historical societies, many of which have published the early records of the country, and in doing so have given the public verbatim copies of the originals. As a rule, the text is printed in these copies exactly as it is written in the originals, with all the errors, irregularities of spelling, contractions, eccentricities of phraseology, etc., faithfully reproduced, thereby placing students and investigators in as favorable a position as is enjoyed by those who have access to the original documents.

The general impression among people whose information on this subject is obtained only from the "standard" histories of the United States is that the Irish did not begin to come to this country until the early years of the last century, and that, therefore, they could have had no part in the War of the Revolution. Indeed, some historical writers have dated the beginning of Irish immigration to America from "the digging of the Erie Canal," or about the year 1820; but it is very evident that they did not examine the records or consult any authoritative sources of information, for otherwise they would never venture upon such an assertion. Not only have these historians miscalculated the period as well as the extent of early Irish immigration to America, but even a publication brought out in 1909 by the Department of Commerce and Labor of the United States Government, entitled *A Century of Population Growth*, displays a woeful lack of knowledge on the subject when it credits the Irish with only one and six-tenths

per cent. of the population of the United States in the year 1790! To one who has examined the early American records it is a great mystery as to what possible method of computation the government statisticians could have used in arriving at that conclusion. Even if they had no other guide to follow but the ordinarily well known Irish names appearing upon the records, I cannot conceive how they could conscientiously say that the Irish element constituted only that meager proportion. Furthermore, we may safely assume that these statisticians, in all probability having no knowledge of the vast changes made in Irish family names both at home and abroad, excluded from the term "Irish" all persons bearing apparently non-Irish names who were residents of the United States at the time the first census was taken, and, doubtless, placed them under the head of "English" and "Scotch."

There are many people who cannot or will not believe that any but English, Dutch, and Huguenots colonized this country in the early days, although in late years the unflagging industry of the "Scotch-Irish" historians has resulted in creating the impression that this class, in contradistinction to the plain "Irish," also had a large part in the laying of the foundations. They cannot realize the fact that the "Irish" or their descendants could have had a hand in this work; that many Irishmen of education and good social breeding came to the Colonies and entered upon the pioneer work of construction with an intelligence and zeal equalling that of their fellow Colonists; that there are numbered among America's



REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

JAMES SMITH

SIGNER OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, BORN IN DUBLIN, IRELAND.



leading statesmen, soldiers, and scholars of the early days and among her pioneer merchants and builders many of the old Gaelic stock, the same class of Irishmen who won fame and renown on the continent of Europe. It is not the fault of the American people that this false idea has been propagated as "history," for Americans as a rule are a fair-minded and truth-loving people; but from their very school days they have absorbed it from historians whose special mission on earth seems to have been to laud to the skies all things "English" and to decry or suppress any other elevating influences in American life that may have had their origin with other peoples!

Irishmen were Signers of the Declaration of Independence;¹ Irishmen were members of the first American Congress which began in 1774 and continued down to the year of the framing of the Constitution;² Irish-

¹ Smith, Taylor, Rutledge, and Thornton were natives of Ireland, and Carroll, McKean, Read, and Lynch were descendants of Irish immigrants. O'Hart (*Irish Pedigrees*, Vol. I, p. 726) says that "Robert Treat Paine, the Signer, was a descendant of the O'Neills of Ulster; that Robert O'Neill, son of Teige O'Neill hereditary prince of Ulster, emigrated to America with his family, where he changed his name to Paine so as to preserve his life from assassins. It was one of his descendants who signed the American Declaration of Independence on July 4th, 1776." The name was adopted from one of his maternal ancestors named Payne who married an O'Neill in Ireland.

² Pierse Long, Mathew Thornton and Thomas FitzSimmons were natives of Limerick, and John Sullivan's father came from the same Irish city; James Duane was a son of Anthony Duane from County Galway; Edward Hand was a native of Kings County; William

men were among the Framers of the Constitution;³ Irishmen commanded brigades and regiments in the struggle for independence,⁴ and an Irishman stands in the unique position of "Father of the American Navy."⁵ Irishmen were Governors of American provinces and States prior to the opening of the nineteenth century. An Irishman was Governor of the Province of New York,⁶ and another was Governor of the Indians from

Irvine was a native of Fermanagh; Charles and Daniel Carroll came from the Carrolls of Tipperary and Kings counties; Edward Carrington was of a Mayo family; Thomas Burke was a native of Galway; John Armstrong, of Donegal; James McHenry, of Antrim; Pierce Butler, of Kilkenny; Cornelius Harnett, of Dublin; Thomas Lynch was of the noted Galway family of the name, and John and Edward Rutledge were also natives of Ireland. Kean, Read, Heney, and Kearney were also of Irish descent.

³ Four natives of Ireland, namely, Thomas FitzSimmons, James McHenry, John Rutledge, and Pierce Butler, as well as George Read and the Carrolls, Charles and Daniel, of Irish descent, were members of the Federal Convention of 1787. (See *Journal of the Federal Convention*, by John Quincy Adams, 1819; *Elliott's Debates*, and *Farrand's Framing of the Constitution*.)

⁴ Among the Irish-born officers were Generals James Hogan, John Greateon, Richard Butler, Richard Montgomery, William Irvine, Edward Hand, William Thomson, William Maxwell, and Andrew Lewis, and Colonels Robert Magaw, John Kelley, John Dooley, John Patton, Walter Stewart, John Shee, John Haslet, Thomas Proctor, John Fitzgerald, Hercules Mooney, Pierse Long, and Stephen Moylan. Generals James Moore, James and George Clinton, Joseph Reed, John Sullivan, and several other officers of high command, were sons of Irish immigrants.

⁵ Commodore John Barry, a native of Wexford.

⁶ Thomas Dongan, a native of County Kildare, who became Governor in 1683.

the Hudson to the Mississippi River.⁷ Irishmen were Governors of the Carolinas;⁸ an Irishman governed the Province of Maryland;⁹ an Irishman was the first Governor of Delaware,¹⁰ and another Irishman was one of the earliest Governors of the State of Pennsylvania.¹¹ The son of an Irishman was the first Governor of the State of New York,¹² and the son of an Irishman was the first Mayor of the City of New York after the Revolution.¹³ Irishmen and their sons of the ancient Gaelic stock are recorded among the earliest Judges of the courts of many of the present States of the Union; they are found not only in the profession of the law, but in medicine, science, and literature, and as pioneers in all walks of life they held their own with their "Anglo-Saxon" compeers.

What other example stands on a level with that of John Sullivan, the Limerick schoolmaster, who taught the children of New England Puritans for upward of

⁷ Sir William Johnson of County Meath, a descendant of the family of McShane.

⁸ James Moore, who became Governor of Carolina in 1700, was a grandson of Rory O'More, the Irish chieftain; Arthur Dobbs, who became Governor of North Carolina in 1754, and Matthew Rowan, Governor in 1764, were natives of Carrickfergus; John Rutledge, Governor of South Carolina in 1776, Thomas Burke, Governor in 1781, and Edward Rutledge, Governor in 1788, were natives of Ireland.

⁹ John Hart, a native of County Cavan, became Governor in 1714.

¹⁰ John McKinley, a native of Ireland, was elected Governor in 1776.

¹¹ George Bryan, from Dublin, was Governor of Pennsylvania in 1788.

¹² George Clinton, whose father emigrated from Longford in 1729.

¹³ James Duane.

sixty years?¹⁴ As an historical writer¹⁵ has so aptly described him, he was the father of a Governor of New Hampshire and of a Governor of Massachusetts, of the first Judge appointed in New Hampshire, of an Attorney-General of New Hampshire, of a Major-General in the Revolutionary army, and of four sons who were officers in that army; he was the grandfather of a Governor of Maine and of a United States Senator from New Hampshire and an Attorney-General of that State; the great-grandfather of an Attorney-General of New Hampshire and of a Judge of its courts, and the great-great-grandfather of a distinguished American officer in the Civil War! These Irishmen, and many others who might be mentioned in the same category, were of the ancient race which stood the brunt of English persecutions in Ireland; yet they have been denied a place in American history by those historical writers whose work alone is found in American schools and colleges.

It is only when we consult such records as those of the Colonial land offices, of the offices of the Secretaries

¹⁴ John Sullivan was of a noted family of Cork and Kerry, distinguished in Irish history. He was born in Limerick in 1696 and emigrated to New England in 1723. It is related of him that when he applied to Rev. Dr. Moody of Scotland Parish, Maine, in that year for employment as a teacher, in order to show that he was competent to teach he wrote his application in seven languages! He exerted a remarkable influence among the people, and many of the "Revolutionary worthies" of New England were numbered among his pupils. See Amory's work on the Sullivans for interesting data concerning this famous Irish schoolmaster.

¹⁵ John C. Linehan, in *Journals of the American Irish Historical Society*.

of State, the Council Journals, the Parish Registers of the Colonial churches wherein are recorded the marriages and deaths of the early settlers and the births of their children, the records of the Surrogates' and County Courts and of the Registrars of Wills and Deeds, the early newspapers, the muster-rolls of the Colonial and Revolutionary armies, the Custom House Records, the State Archives, the early Town Books and Minutes of the Selectmen, the Journals of the Genealogical and Historical Societies, the town and county histories, and the numerous other publications wherein the names of the early settlers are copied from the original records, that we are in a position to form any idea of the enormous immigration of Irish people to these shores during the Colonial period. And when we read the tens of thousands of old Gaelic names that appear in these records with the most astonishing regularity, we begin to wonder what the reason could have been for the almost total omission of any reference to these people from our standard American histories!

The system of landlord tyranny and the political and economic oppression to which the people of Ireland were subject evidently received no consideration whatever from some American historians in determining whether such conditions may have had any influence on the destinies of this country. During the first half of the eighteenth century, so wide-spread was the discontent of the Irish with the rapacity of the landlords, who in many cases were the descendants of the Cromwellian settlers planted in Ireland about one hundred years before, and so difficult was it for the laboring and artisan

class to make a living at home, that for many years prior to the Revolution there was a continuous stream of Irish immigration flowing to the American Colonies. While some historical writers candidly admit that large numbers of Irish settled in America during that period, they assert that these Colonists came from the province of Ulster only, and that they were the so-called "Scotch-Irish" element. But that idea is altogether erroneous, as is readily seen by the names of the immigrants, which indicate to any person acquainted with the habitat of the old Irish families in Ireland the sections of the island whence they came. The "Scotch-Irish" theorists have been very industrious in putting forward their claims in this respect, and credulous persons, reading the output of these people, conclude that all immigrants from Ireland prior to the Revolution, especially those who may have in any way contributed to the up-building of the country, were the descendants of the Scotch planters who settled in Ireland in the seventeenth century.

There is unquestionable proof that every part of Ireland contributed to the enormous emigration of its people, and while there are no official statistics now available—for none were kept—to indicate the numerical strength of those Irish immigrations, abundant proof of this assertion is found in authentic records, such as those already alluded to. In the newspapers published in the cities of the Atlantic seaboard are enumerated the arrivals and sailings of vessels between Irish and American ports during the half century which preceded the Revolution. From the ports of Cork, Waterford,

Wexford, Kinsale, Dublin, Limerick, Galway, Sligo, Killala, Coleraine, Newry, Belfast, Letterkenny, and Derry ships were constantly arriving. These vessels were not only freight-carriers, but in many of the public announcements in American newspapers by the masters and agents of the vessels, they advertised that they had "ample" and, in some cases, "extraordinary accommodations for passengers"; and in the news columns may be seen hundreds of references containing accounts of immigrants arriving from all parts of Ireland.¹⁶ In a short review of the subject it is not possible to present all this evidence, and I shall refer to a few examples only. In single issues of the New York newspapers, between the years 1767 and 1773, I find as many as ten to fifteen vessels "up" at one time, advertised to sail for their home ports in Ireland;¹⁷ and as far back as

¹⁶ Froude (*The English in Ireland*, Vol. II, p. 125; London, 1874), in referring to the large emigrations to America following the Antrim evictions in 1772, says: "The South and West of Ireland were caught by the same movement, and ships could not be found to carry the crowds who were eager to go. The emigration was not only depriving Ireland of its manufactures, but of the sinews of its trade."

¹⁷ John F. Watson, the New York historian, in his *Annals and Occurrences of New York City and State in the Olden Times* (Philadelphia, 1846), expresses surprise at finding in the records and newspapers so many references to vessels sailing between Irish and American ports in the eighteenth century. Barrett (*Old Merchants of New York*, Vol. III, p. 59), in referring to the large trade between Ireland and America in the year 1768, calls attention to "the regular liners between New York and Irish ports," and states that "twelve or fifteen regular traders to Ireland were in

1716 and for many years after that time the New York and Philadelphia newspapers continued to publish accounts of the arrival of Irish immigrants.

A great many examples like the following can be pointed out of ships arriving at Philadelphia from Ireland: "The Ship *Cezar* from Waterford, Ireland," which arrived in July, 1716, with "seventy passengers"; the same ship "from Dublin" in September, 1717, with "about one hundred passengers"; "the *Dove* from Ireland" in August, 1716, "with passengers"; an unnamed ship "from Cork" with "fifty passengers" in March, 1718; and "the *Elizabeth and Margaret* from Dublin" in August of the same year with "one hundred and fifty passengers." Pages could be filled with such items, but these are selected merely to show that Irish immigration to this country began at a very early period and that it was large and continuous, although, as already stated, it was during the half century preceding the Revolution that the greatest number came over and settled permanently in the Colonies.

port at one time, when there was but one vessel up for London." He says also that some of these vessels were "owned by three Irish firms" in New York.

CHAPTER XV

VAST IRISH IMMIGRATIONS TO PENNSYLVANIA

Their principal settlements. Mistaken assumption that no Irish Catholics settled in America prior to the Revolution. The Irish traders. Shipping between Philadelphia and Irish ports, 1727 to 1737. Extracts from the Philadelphia newspapers.

THE “footsteps of the Celt” can be traced through every one of the original Thirteen Colonies. In Pennsylvania, for example, the Irish began to settle as early as the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and there is evidence to show that an important Irish colony came over with William Penn in the year 1682. Penn was well acquainted with the sturdy character of the Irish peasantry, for he had lived many years at Kinsale, in the county of Cork, managing his father’s estate; and when he first came to America he brought with him a number of Irish people, principally from Cork and Wexford, some of whom are referred to as “people of property” and “people of consequence.”¹ Seventeen years later, on one of his return voyages to Philadelphia, he brought with him a brilliant young Irishman, James Logan of Lurgan, County Armagh, a son of Patrick Logan, a man well known in Ireland in those days for his great learning. For nearly half a century James Logan occupied leading positions in

¹ Scharf-Westcott, *History of Philadelphia*, 1609-1884; Philadelphia, 1884.

the province, among them Chief Justice of the Courts, Provincial Secretary, and President of the Council.

About this time, we are told, "there were many Irish Papists in Pennsylvania who turn Quakers and get into places, as well as Germans";² and, indeed, the arrival of "Irish Papists and convicts" at the port of Philadelphia was so constant as to be viewed with considerable alarm by the provincial authorities. In the Fisher Collection at the American Philosophical Society there is an interesting document, "A Message from the Lieutenant-Governour to the Representatives of the Freemen of the Province of Pennsylvania," dated December 17, 1728, which reads in part: "I have now positive orders from Britain to provide proper law against these crowds of foreigners who are yearly pour'd upon us. It may also require thoughts to prevent the importation of Irish Papists and convicts,³ of whom some of the most notorious, I am creditably informed, have of late been landed in this river." On December 28, the "Representatives" replied to this letter, saying: "We do likewise perceive it to be of the greatest consequence to the preservation both of the religious and civil rights of the people of this Province to prevent the importation of Irish Papists and convicts, in which no endeavour of ours shall be wanting, and we earnestly request the Governour to recommend the same to the

² Letter from Rev. Colin Campbell to the London Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, quoted in Hill's *History of the Episcopal Church of Burlington, New Jersey*.

³ The Irish "convicts" were the political refugees who fled from the persecutions of the British government.

consideration of the Assembly of the Three Lower Counties to make like provision against the growth of so pernicious an evil in that Government, which, if not timely prevented, will sensibly affect the people of this Province." A committee was appointed to draw up a bill "levying a duty on foreigners, Irish servants and persons of redemption"; and although future Irish immigrants were thus taxed on their landing in Philadelphia, the operation of the statute proved "unsatisfactory," for the law was evaded by the captains of vessels arriving in the Delaware landing their passengers at Newcastle, Delaware, or Burlington, New Jersey.

The most important of the early Irish immigrations to Pennsylvania, from the standpoint of numbers, began about the opening of the eighteenth century. These Irish settled generally in or near Philadelphia and in Bucks, Chester, and Lancaster counties, and large numbers flocked to the Cumberland Valley. As they were generally tillers of the soil in Ireland, they preferred agricultural to other pursuits, and within a very few years several little farming communities composed entirely of Irish families were flourishing in the beautiful Cumberland Valley on lands opened to them by the province or acquired by purchase from the Indians. Down to the time of the Revolution, nearly all the settlers of the valley were from Ireland or of the first generation of American-born descendants of Irish immigrants. "No district of our broad, beautiful, and blessed country," says a local historian, "has furnished more representative men, men distinguished for their ability, in-

telligence, and influence, than Cumberland Valley.”⁴ The influx into the province of substantial Irish settlers was great after this period, and continued with little abatement for many years. In 1734 there are said to have been in the Kittochtinny Valley “about one thousand families,” while in 1750 the population was “between five and six thousand.” It had “about one thousand taxables, nine-tenths of whom,” according to a local historian, “were Irish and Scotch.” The same authority states that for some years previous to the Indian wars, “the Irish and Scotch immigrants constituted the great mass of the effective population of the Province. They settled in great numbers in various parts of Lancaster, York, and Northampton Counties and formed the entire population of the Kittochtinny Valley.”⁵

Irish settlements were made in 1717 on the Octoraro Creek in Lancaster County. Rupp, an impartial historian, thus refers to them: “They and their descendants have always been justly regarded as among the most intelligent people of the county, and their progress will be found to be but little behind the boasted efforts of the Colony of Plymouth.”⁶ Among the Irishmen who came to Bucks County in the year 1720 were the Tennent family from County Armagh, one of whom,

⁴ Dr. Alfred Nevin, *Men of Mark in the Cumberland Valley*; Philadelphia, 1876.

⁵ George C. Chambers, *A Tribute to the Virtues, Habits, and Usefulness of the Early Irish and Scotch Settlers of Pennsylvania*; Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, 1856.

⁶ *History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*, p. 439.

Rev. William Tennent, was celebrated for his profound learning. He established the famous wilderness school known as the "Log College" at Neshaminy, Pennsylvania, which he conducted with much success, and in it were educated men who achieved great reputations in after years. The "Log College" has been called "the first literary institution above the common schools in Pennsylvania" and "the germ from which proceeded the flourishing college of New Jersey, at Princeton."

In 1722, a number of people from County Donegal, Ireland, located in Westmoreland County, which became an extensive settlement and embraced a large district of fertile and choice lands. In 1723 a considerable number of Irish people located in Dauphin and Cumberland counties,⁷ and in the next year Irish settlements were established west of the Susquehanna River in what is now York County. This section had been inhabited chiefly by Germans who had arrived a short time before. The relations between the two nationalities were never friendly, and the racial rivalries resulted in such outbreaks that after a quarter of a century of strife and animosity an enforced separation of the territory was brought about by the provincial authorities which confined the Germans to York and the Irish to Cumberland County.⁸

Harley, in his *Life of Charles Thomson*,⁹ states that "before 1726 six thousand Irish had arrived, while the

⁷ Geiser, *Redemptioners and Indentured Servants in the Colony and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, New Haven, Connecticut, 1901.

⁸ Provincial Records of Pennsylvania.

⁹ Page 17.

failure of the crops of Ulster increased the volume of immigration to twelve thousand a year until 1750"; and Dr. Robert Baird, in his *History of Religion in America*,¹⁰ says: "From 1729 to 1750 about twelve thousand annually came from Ulster to America." This last estimate would make an exodus from Ulster alone during a period of twenty-five years of the almost incredible total of 300,000, exclusive of the large emigrations from the other provinces of Ireland.

The majority of the Ulster emigrants who came about this time seem to have been Episcopalians and Presbyterians, and the immediate cause of their enforced expatriation, besides the unsatisfactory economic conditions in their native land, was the passage of the "Test Act," which deprived a large number of Irish Protestants of the privileges of the franchise. James Anthony Froude, in the lugubrious tone that characterizes his historical work wherever a question of religion is concerned, thus comments upon the exodus from Ireland which set in after the passage of the Test Act: "The young, the courageous, the energetic, the earnest, these alone among the colonists, who, if ever Ireland was to be a Protestant country, could be effective missionaries, were torn up by the roots, flung out and bid find a home elsewhere, and they found a home to which England, fifty years later, had to regret that she had allowed them to be driven."¹¹

But that it is evident the early emigrations from

¹⁰ New York, 1844.

¹¹ *The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. I, p. 394.

Ireland to Pennsylvania were a mixed class, in so far as religion is concerned, we may judge from the statements of historians like John D. Rupp and DeCoursey and Shea. Rupp, in his *History of Northampton, Lehigh, Monroe, Schuylkill, and Carbon Counties, Pennsylvania*, shows that many of these people selected this region for their homes, and in referring to their descendants he says: "The greater proportion of them are Catholics and have priests officiating in the Irish language." The same historian, in his *History of Northampton, Huntingdon, Mifflin, Centre, Union, Columbia, Juniata, and Clinton Counties*, says: "Previous to the Revolution of 1776, the immigration of the Irish was not only extensive but of the better sort." He calls the Irish of Dauphin and Cumberland counties "a generous and hospitable people," and quotes the Lord's Prayer from a Gaelic Bible which he discovered in the possession of one of the Irish Catholic families, adding that "the descendants of the Irish no longer speak the language of their valorous fathers." Shea, in his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, says that "in 1729 a Catholic chapel existed near Philadelphia on the road between Nicetown and Frankford, which was erected by Miss Elizabeth McGawley, a young Irish lady who had settled in that part with a number of tenants whom she had brought from Ireland." In 1742 another Catholic church was erected for the Irish settlers at Lancaster, and in the lists of its trustees and the members of its congregation nearly all the names are Irish. In 1753, St. Mary's Catholic church

was erected at Philadelphia, which Griffin ¹² says was known as "the Irish church," a most appropriate designation, if we are to judge from the rosters of its congregation.

"Evidence is at hand," says Rev. Howard Ganss, one of the historians of Carlisle, "that before 1745 a number of Irish Catholic families settled in Tuscarora Path and formed the nucleus of a settlement still in existence, and in which we not only find lineal descendants of the original settlers, but a community in which, in spite of the vicissitudes of time, the frequent depredations of the Indians, the great distance from a church and the sadly few visits of priests, the Catholic faith is still found as firm and intact as was that of their ancestors who planted it there more than one hundred and fifty years ago. ¹³ This settlement was not only the one that lay further west than any hitherto attempted on this side of the Alleghenies, but even antedates Conewago, as far as documentary evidence goes."

Some historical narrators insist upon placing the early Irish in America in two opposing camps, namely, "Catholic" and "Protestant," and, in fact, some assert that the Irish who came over previous to the Revolution were "almost wholly Presbyterians" and that "there was no Catholic emigration from Ireland to America at all until after that time." Usually this claim is made by people who seem to be unable to conceive otherwise than that "Irish" and "Catholic" are synonymous terms, and

¹² *American Catholic Historical Researches*; Philadelphia, Pa.

¹³ This was written in 1845.



REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

STEPHEN MOYLAN

COLONEL OF CAVALRY, CONTINENTAL ARMY, AND
AIDE-DE-CAMP TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.
BORN IN CORK, IRELAND.

this thought has led them into the most ridiculous assumptions with regard to the Irish in the Revolution. That their opinions on this question, and especially in relation to the Catholic Irish, are altogether at variance with the facts is shown by many reputable authorities, the following being submitted as examples:

"It is a fact most undoubtedly true that great numbers of Irish and German Papists have, of late years, gone into our Colonies." ¹⁴

"Before the Revolution, Pennsylvania harboured five Catholic churches with about double the number of priests and several thousand communicants, mostly Irish and Germans." ¹⁵

Pehr Kalm, the Swedish historian, who was in Philadelphia in 1748, states that "the Roman Catholics have a Church here," which, he remarked, "is well adorned within and has an organ," ¹⁶ from which it must be assumed that the church had a considerable congregation even for that early day. "There is one Romish Chapel in Philadelphia." ¹⁷ The church here referred to was Saint Joseph's Catholic Church, which Griffin ¹⁸ states was erected in the year 1733; and if we are to judge from the names of its worshipers, registers of burials, baptisms, etc., it is quite apparent that the Irish were

¹⁴ Extract "from a late English paper," in *Pennsylvania Gazette* of July 15, 1755.

¹⁵ Berthold Fernow, *Middle Colonies Critical and Narrative History of America*, Vol. I, p. 160.

¹⁶ *Voyage de Kalm en Amerique*, Vol. I, p. 43.

¹⁷ Rev. Andrew Burnaby's *Travels in North America*, 1759-60, p. 77.

¹⁸ *American Catholic Historical Researches*, Vol. X, No. 1.

largely represented among its parishioners about the period of the Revolution.

"As to religion [in Pennsylvania] there is none properly established, but Protestants of all denominations, Papists, Jews, and all other sects whatsoever are universally tolerated." "The established religion [in Maryland] is that of the Church of England, but there are as many Roman Catholics as Protestants." The numerous Irish Catholic names that appear in Maryland records of the period referred to justify the conclusion that the Irish were a strong element among Maryland Catholics.¹⁹

Achenwall, in his *Observations on North America*, refers to the Irish settlers in Pennsylvania in such a way as to indicate that he regarded them as a large and important element of the population; and he states that "Catholic Churches are found in Pennsylvania as well as in Maryland," but that "Roman Catholics are excluded from all offices and from the Assembly because they cannot take the usual religious oath and subscribe under the Test Act."

"Roman Catholics are very numerous in Berks County."²⁰ That the Irish were also "numerous in Berks County" may readily be seen from the Pennsylvania land records.

"If the Irish Catholics taken as prisoners to Canada [from the Colony of New York] ask to remain there,

¹⁹ Burnaby's *Travels*, pp. 69 and 84.

²⁰ *Petition of the Justices of Berks County to Governor Morris*, dated July 23, 1755.

see no difficulty about their being allowed to do so. The manner in which the English treat their nation ought not to cause them to regret such a change. The same could be done with respect to the Scotch Catholics.”²¹

“Great numbers of Irish Papists are being brought continually into Maryland, and many Irish priests are suspected of coming *incognito*, as having no better place of refuge in the King’s dominions upon their being banished from Ireland.”²²

“A very great number of Gentlemen of good and Ancient Families and other Roman Catholicks of the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, being vexed and persecuted by the several paenal Statutes made against them in their native Countries, . . . transported themselves into this Province,”²³ etc.

In 1764, one Thomas Shea conveyed by deed to Rev. Bennett Neale a farm of land at Priests’ Ford in Harford County, Maryland, on which a Catholic chapel was erected.²⁴ That this chapel was for the use of Irish Catholics of the vicinity is clearly shown by the names of the early settlers in that part of the county which ap-

²¹ Letter from the President of the Navy Board to the Department of Marine Provinces, Paris, dated January 23, 1748, relative to the exchange of prisoners in America; in *Canadian Archives*, Vol. I, p. 101.

²² Letter of the Episcopal Clergy of Maryland to the Bishop of London, dated “Maryland, Port Annapolis, May 1, 1696”; in Dawson’s *Historical Magazine* for 1868, pp. 151-3.

²³ *The humble Petition and Remonstrance of Charles Carroll, on behalf of himself and all the other Roman Catholics of the Province of Maryland*; in Library of Congress, BM. Add. MSS. No. 15489.

²⁴ *Land Records of Maryland*.

pear in the records of the Land Commissioner's office at Annapolis.

"By far the greatest number of Roman Catholics [in Maryland] are on the Western Shore, and, what is very surprising, it was also the most violently rebellious and disaffected in the Revolution."²⁵ How very suggestive of the presence of the Irish!

In a letter from Rev. John Carroll in the year 1779,²⁶ he said: "I have care of a very large congregation" [at Rock Creek, Maryland], and another congregation in Virginia to which I go sixty or seventy miles once a month." Rock Creek is near Washington, D. C., in Montgomery County, Maryland, and in the immediate vicinity I have found a number of old Irish names recorded prior to the year 1779. The Virginia congregation was in Stafford County, whose early records also contain numbers of old Irish names.

A book entitled *The Catholic Christian Instructor* was published by Robert Bell at Philadelphia in 1774, the original subscribers to which were people named O'Neill, Willcox, Cullen, Hogan, and Gallagher, from which it may be assumed that its supporters were Irish; and the fact that the publisher undertook to print such a book makes it appear that there must have been some demand for it.

Rev. John Carroll, Bishop of Baltimore, writing to Matthew Carey of Philadelphia on January 30, 1789, in reference to "the illiberal treatment of Roman

²⁵ *A Tour in the United States*, by J. F. Smith, Vol. II, London, 1784.

²⁶ Among the *Woodstock Letters*, Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 128.

Catholics in the United States," said: "They contributed in proportion to their numbers, equally at least with every other denomination, to the establishment of independence and ran every risk in common with them." (Matthew Carey's *MS. Correspondence*, Vol. IV.)

In a contribution on the same subject, printed in the *Columbian Magazine* of Philadelphia for December, 1787, Bishop Carroll said: "The American army swarmed with Roman Catholic soldiers, and the world would have held them justified had they withdrawn themselves from the defence of a State which treated them with so much cruelty and injustice, and which they then covered from the depredations of the British army. But their patriotism was too disinterested to hearken to the first impulse of even just resentment." Bishop Carroll was a witness to the events of the Revolution and his standing and that of all of the Carroll family among the people need not be referred to here. It is needless to say, that when he wrote the above he had in mind the Irish Catholics, and the statement of so responsible a witness can hardly be called into question.

Finally, we have the evidence of the historic address "on behalf of the Roman Catholics of the United States" to President Washington, on March 15, 1790, and from the fact that this document was signed by Rev. John Carroll, Charles Carroll, Daniel Carroll, Dominick Lynch, and Thomas FitzSimmons, it is clear that it was at the instance of the Irish Catholics, above all others, that this address was presented. Many more

such authorities can be quoted, but these are probably sufficient to illustrate the point. It is perfectly obvious that multitudes of Catholics emigrated from Ireland to America before the Revolution, and the long succession of names representative of the ancient Catholic families of Ireland which appear in the early records here referred to is sufficient proof of that fact. On the other hand, it is just as obvious that the majority of these Irish Catholics did not practise their religion in America, and that their children became associated with other religious denominations, which explains why so many thousands of present-day Americans who have sprung from the ancient stock of the *Clan-na-Gaedhal*, and who still bear old Irish names, are non-Catholic and seldom have any knowledge of or interest in their Irish forebears or the history of their race in the Western Hemisphere.

But the fact that many of the Colonial Irish were not practical Catholics did not de-Irishize them, for religion does not make nationality, however much it may change certain racial ideals. In the case of the Irish Catholic immigrants, however, the change in religion, or the want of it, had a far-reaching and deleterious effect. As knowledge strengthens the mind and ignorance weakens it, so undoubtedly many of the poor Irish Catholics in the Colonies, finding no church of their own faith to commune with, in despair abandoned their faith because of their ignorance of its fundamentals, which were not taught in those days to the extent that they are now. In most cases, even those who abhorred the idea of apostasy, had no chance of practising their

religion, for the open profession of the Catholic faith was not tolerated; they had neither priests nor churches, and there was no encouragement to bring over priests even secretly. Compelled by local laws to have their children baptized by the Protestant clergy so as to legalize their birth, and compelled by similar laws to send their children to churches and schools where "Papists" were ridiculed and the cry of "No Popery!" was constantly in their ears, it is no wonder the parents weakened and that when the children grew up they either had no religion at all or became absorbed by the different Protestant sects. Thus, in course of time, they lost their faith, and with it, in many cases, the distinctive characteristics of the Celtic race!

Many of the Irish immigrants to Pennsylvania are found to have located in the most far-away parts of the province. Some pushed out beyond the regions where the first settlements were established. There were among them many young men of energy and resource who had no fear of the contiguity of the Indian tribes. Their occupations were diversified; some of them had not the patience to settle down and carve out an existence from the boundless forest; consequently we find many of them leading a nomadic life, carrying packs upon their backs and trading with the Indians. Several Indian traders of Irish names are mentioned in Pennsylvania official records, and one of the many interesting references to them is contained in the *Journal of Christian Post*, quoted by Rupp in his *History of Western Pennsylvania*. In 1758, *Christian Post* was sent from Philadelphia to the Ohio with a message from

the Governor of Pennsylvania to the Indians, urging them to withdraw from their alliance with the French. On September 1, 1758, in a conference with the Indian chiefs, Post told them: "There are a great many Papists in the country who have sent many runaway Irish servants among you, who have put bad notions into your heads and strengthened you against your brothers, the English." He then exhorted them "not to believe these ill-designing Irishmen," and adds by way of memorandum in his Journal: "There are a great number of Irish traders now among the Indians who have always endeavoured to split up the Indians against the English." Similar references to "the Irish Papists" are found in the *Manuscripts of Sir William Johnson*, Colonial Governor of New York. In a report to Governor Johnson on the fighting along the northwestern frontier of New York during the French-English War, the commander of an English regiment, under date of May 28, 1756, referred to "the great number of Irish Papists and transports who were enlisted from Pennsylvania and Maryland and who deserted at Oswego and other garrisons," and stated that "there are a great number of these Irish Papists amongst the Delaware and Susquehanna Indians who have done a world of prejudice to English interests."

Probably the correct explanation of these wholesale desertions of "Irish Papists" from the English service is that which I find in the Journal of the Marquis of Montcalm, commander of the French troops, wherein reference is made to "the Irish Brigade in the service of France." In August, 1756, the French laid siege to

a fort known as Chouaguen on Lake Ontario, opposite what is now Oswego. After a fierce engagement, the English surrendered, and among the prisoners Montcalm mentioned "two English regiments who were at the battle of Fontenoy." It so happened that the regiment which compelled their surrender was commanded by a Colonel Bearn, or Byrne, and was one of those that composed the Irish Brigade which inflicted the historic defeat on the English army at Fontenoy only eleven years before. This regiment receives special mention from Montcalm for its bravery at Oswego, and, to quote the words of a deserter from a French regiment,²⁷ "the leaders in the attack on the fort were the French soldiers who were cloathed in Red, faced with Green, which I imagine, belong to the Irish Brigade."²⁸ Doubtless "the Irish Papists from Pennsylvania and Maryland" had been impressed into the English service and took advantage of the contiguity of the French to make their escape in large bodies and join their countrymen who were fighting in the ranks of Ireland's historic friend.

In the Philadelphia newspapers may be read accounts of the numbers of yearly arrivals at that port. For example, in 1727, 1155 Irish people landed in the Delaware River, and in the following year they reached the high total of 5600. The *American Weekly Mercury* of August 14, 1729, stated that during the previous week "about 2000 Irish arrived at Newcastle, Del., and an

²⁷ See Edmund B. O'Callaghan's *Documentary History of New York*, Vol. I, p. 504.

²⁸ This description corresponds exactly with published descriptions of the uniform worn by the Irish Brigade in the service of France.

abundance more are daily expected"; and according to a report published in the *New England Weekly Journal* of March 30, 1730, the number of Irish people who entered the port of Philadelphia during the year 1729 was 5655 and only 553 from all other European countries; so that the Irish element represented over ninety per cent. of the total number of immigrants to America via Philadelphia in that year!²⁹ Philadelphia was then the chief port of entry, but we may safely assume that the numbers of Irish entering at New York, Baltimore, and Charleston also constituted a large proportion of the immigrants from Europe. So extensive was Irish immigration to Pennsylvania about this period, that we find Lieutenant-Governor Logan writing in

²⁹ In *Extracts from the Itineraries and other Miscellanies of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D.*, edited under the authority of the Corporation of Yale University, by Franklin B. Dexter (New Haven, 1916), the details of these figures are given in "An Account of Passengers and Servants landed in Pennsylvania from Christmas, 1728, to Christmas, 1729":

English and Welsh Passengers	199
Servants	68
Irish Passengers	925
Servants	230
Scots Passengers	00
Servants	43
Palatine Passengers	243
Servants	00
In Newcastle Government have been landed about 4500 Passengers and Servants, chiefly from Ireland	4500
Total	6208

1729, in reference to "a ship from Dublin with one hundred Catholics and convicts" which had just arrived in the Delaware: "It looks as if Ireland is to send all her inhabitants hither, for last week not less than six ships arrived, and every day two or three also arrive. The common fear is that if they continue to come, they will make themselves proprietors of the Province. It is strange that they thus crowd where they are not wanted. The Indians themselves are alarmed at the swarm of strangers, and we are afraid of a breach between them, for the Irish are very rough to them."³⁰

From that time forward down to the beginning of the agitation which culminated in the Revolutionary War, Irish immigrants continued to come to Pennsylvania. Various issues of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and the *American Weekly Mercury* during the years 1735 and 1736 gave accounts of Irish immigrants coming in via the Delaware River, and the following examples, out of many, are quoted from the Philadelphia newspapers as indicating the constant arrival of people of this class. From March, 1735, to March, 1737, ninety-nine passenger-carrying vessels were entered at the Philadelphia Custom House as arriving from Ireland or returning thereto, and the extent of the immigrations which came in these vessels may be fairly estimated from the newspaper comments of the time. The *American Weekly Mercury* of August 28, 1735, reported that "on Mon-

³⁰ This letter is in the Logan MS. Collection in the Loganian Library at Philadelphia. These manuscripts contain other references to the Irish in Pennsylvania in the early part of the eighteenth century.

day last Captain Blair arrived from Carrickfergus in Ireland with 168 Irish passengers and servants," and the same paper on September 11, 1735, gave "an account of the number of passengers and servants imported hither since the first of May," and of the 557 passengers and 320 servants, 195 passengers and 177 servants were "from Ireland." During the next week "Captain Lowes arrived with 204 passengers and servants from Ireland." The *Mercury* of September 9, 1736, said, "The number of passengers and servants arrived at this place from Ireland since our last amounts to 345, and we hear from Newcastle that in the space of twenty-four hours in the last week there arrived near one thousand souls from the same place." On August 28, 1737, "Captain George Spafford arrived in the ship *Hope* from the North of Ireland with about one hundred passengers"; and in December, 1740, the arrival of "Captain Richard McCarthy in the *Diana* with a number of people from Dublin" was announced in the Philadelphia papers. According to the Minutes of the Selectmen of the Town of Boston of August 16, 1736, Captain Benedict Arnold of the ship *Prudent Hannah* appeared at a town meeting on that date and "gave information that he came from Ireland about twelve weeks ago and that he is bound for Philadelphia with his passengers, who are in all one hundred and twenty."

It will be noted that in some of these accounts the Irish immigrants were classified either as "passengers," "servants," or "redemptioners." The "passengers" were those who were able to meet the expenses of the voyage and were otherwise equipped to make their own way in

the world without becoming a charge upon the country; but it would be a mistake to assume that by "servants" were meant domestic servants only, or that all of these were the poor and the lowly. In those days all laborers, artisans, farmers, tradesmen, mechanics—in fact, every one who labored with his hands—were classed as "servants," and I find instances where even "manufacturers" and schoolmasters were so designated; and indeed it is a sad commentary upon the conditions then prevailing that the "time" of some of these schoolmasters brought no higher price than that of the common laborer! The term "servants," therefore, was intended and used in its broadest sense, and those recorded under this head were among the most useful class that settled in the Colonies; for it is hardly necessary to say that what America needed most at that time were men and women to populate the country, to till the soil and advance her industries.

The "redemptioners" were those who, being unable to pay their own passage, bargained with the masters or owners of vessels to dispose of their "time" to the planters and manufacturers, and when they had "redeemed" themselves—that is, when their terms of service had expired—they were free to go as they chose and work out their own destinies. The provincial records show that it was customary for the Colonial governments to grant the planters one hundred acres of land for each "redemptioner" whose "time" they purchased, and in some Colonies fifty acres were awarded for each woman and child; and when the "redemptioner" had completed his part of the contract he also was allowed fifty acres

of land on condition that he would put it under cultivation. Some of our historians adopt a most uncharitable attitude toward the Colonial "servants" and "redemptioners," treating them as if they were "the refuse" of their own country and were driven out as a useless increment upon the body politic, instead of, as many existing records show them to have been, an honest and industrious class, in numerous cases educated and refined, who shouldered the hard work which a new and undeveloped country necessarily demanded. And to-day there are many American families of social prominence and wealth whose ancestors came over as "servants" or "redemptioners," and instances can also be shown of Irishmen of that class who rose to high positions in this country. Notable examples of these Irish redemptioners are Charles Thomson, Secretary of the Continental Congress; Matthew Thornton and George Taylor, Signers of the Declaration of Independence; the celebrated Matthew Lyon of Vermont; and John Sullivan, "the father of soldiers, scholars, and statesmen."

A statement which at first glance seems extraordinary is contained in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of August 11, 1773, in a despatch from Williamsburg, Virginia, dated July 29th, reading: "The *Venus*, Captain Oliffe, from Dublin is come up to Burwell's Ferry ³¹ with Seventy Indentured Servants, some of whom, we learn, are well acquainted with the Cloth Manufactory. Captain Oliffe says that he was well informed before he left Dublin, that upwards of 18,000 people had left Ireland since January last, to settle in different parts of America." A photo-

³¹ On the James River near the mouth of the Chickahominy.

WILLIAMSBURG, July 29.
The Venus, Captain Oliffe, from Dublin, is come up to Bur-
well's Ferry, with Seventy indentured Servants; some of whom we
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REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

DESPATCH FROM WILLIAMSBURG, VA., IN PENNSYLVANIA
GAZETTE OF AUGUST 11, 1773.

graphic reproduction of the page of the *Gazette* in which this account appeared is hereto annexed, and it is also worthy of note that on the same date the paper announced the arrival at Philadelphia of two ships from Ireland with more than one thousand passengers.

There is no exact means of verifying this statement as to this extraordinary influx of Irish immigrants within the space of six months, but when we note the large number of Irish vessels trading with American ports at this period, it is not, after all, so very surprising. The newspaper announcements of the arrival of these vessels show that in some cases they brought as many as 500 passengers on one trip; and if we place them at the low average of 250 on each westward voyage, we see that the 18,000 Irish immigrants referred to by Captain Oliffe could have arrived in seventy-two trips. The New York and Philadelphia newspapers alone, without taking into consideration ships from Ireland entered at the ports of Boston, Baltimore, and Charleston, listed the arrival of 162 vessels from various Irish ports in the years 1771, 1772, and 1773, approximately one-half of which arrived in the last-mentioned year. In partial support of the statement of Captain Oliffe, I quote the following letter from Charles Lee³² to an Englishman named Constantine John Phipps at London, dated "1773-'74," in reference to the policy then pursued by the British government toward America:

³² Lee Papers in Collections of the New York Historical Society, Vol. for 1871. See also *Life and Memoirs of the Late Major-General Lee*, by Edward Langworthy; New York, 1813.

“Twelve thousand fresh colonists, half German, half Irish, were imported this year into Philadelphia alone, and not a much less number in the Colonies of Virginia and New York.”

As a result, he said:

“The banks of Hudson’s River, of the Mohawk, Susquehannah, Juniata, and the Ohio, from the Monongahela downwards thirty miles, which were totally a desert, are become one continued chain of villages. I leave you to judge, whether it will be easy to dragoon so numerous a people for any length of time. Ships of war, it is true, may insult and put to inconvenience some of their capital ports, but these teasings and insults will only serve to shew the absurdity of your Ministers’ policy in a more striking light, by giving an unanimity to these people equal to their effective strength, when they may set at defiance the machinations, not only of an earthly, but of the infernal potentate himself, and his Ministry.”

To a certain extent, the statements of Captain Oliffe and Charles Lee are verified by newspaper accounts, as the following which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet* in a despatch dated “New York, July 19, 1773,” will show:

“On Thursday arrived at the Hook in eight weeks and three days from Newry, in Ireland, the ship *Robert*, Captain Matthew Russell, having on board upwards of 300 souls, including children, passengers from that port, who are come over to settle in America. We hear about half of them are to be landed at Amboy and the ship to come here with the rest; four other ships, the Captains of which were Montgomery, Pharis, McCutcheon, and Cheevers, full of passengers, lately sailed from the same port for Philadelphia, where two of them are arrived. Another ship of 300 tons, Captain Cunningham, for Philadelphia, and the brig *Elliott*, Captain Waring, for South Carolina, both full of passengers, were expected to sail from Newry about the 25th of May. From the same place also, other vessels are going with settlers for the banks of the Mississippi. We hear also that great numbers of vessels from Dublin,

Londonderry, Belfast, Larne, Cork, and other Irish ports have lately sailed or are soon expected to sail, full of passengers, for different parts of America."

The following are examples of numerous announcements, printed in the New York and Philadelphia newspapers, of arrivals of vessels from and sailings for Irish ports:

New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Year 1771

July 29.—The arrival at Philadelphia of "the *New Speedwell* from Cork with passengers" was announced on this date.

As examples of the shipping comments in this paper, lacking information as to the number of passengers, I find in its issue of August 5th: "Captain Caine from Waterford the 23rd of July last, in Lat. 39:27, Long. 70, spoke the brig *Conolly*, Robert Miller, Master, of Dublin six days out." The same paper, in its London news of October 21, said: "The *Eleanor*, Captain Brinsley, from Dublin to New England, was totally lost about 300 leagues to the West of Ireland," and a news despatch from Philadelphia in the same issue referred to the arrival of "Captain Guitton from Cork," "Captain Dysart from Londonderry," and "Captain Woolsey from Dublin," and stated that "the ship *Diana*, Captain Montgomery," had "cleared for departure for Dublin."

Under the head of "Cleared for Departure" from New York, for, or "Arrivals out" at, Irish ports in the year 1771, this paper announced: on January 7, nine vessels; January 14, three; January 28, three; February 4, five; April 22, seven; May 6, six; May 20, nine; De-

cember 16, four; December 30, five; or a total of fifty-one sailings during a period of five months.

Pennsylvania Gazette, Year 1771

Under the head of "Arrivals out" from Philadelphia at various Irish ports, ten ships were listed by this paper on May 2d; also, on May 9th, "Arrivals out from Baltimore, Captain Cain at Killala, Captain Patterson at Cork and Captain Pim at Dublin"; on May 16th, "the brig *Globe*, Captain Garrigues, at Cork"; on May 23d, "Captains Miller and Smith at Dublin, Curtis at Waterford, Ferguson at Belfast, and McGowan at Londonderry"; and on May 30th "the brig *Hibernia*, Captain Hayman, at Dublin." This made twenty vessels in all in five successive issues of the paper during the month of May, 1771.

June 13.—"Captain Fullerton from Dublin spoke the ship *Newry Packet*, Captain Robeson, from Newry for this place." Cleared for departure: "Ship *Friendship*, Captain McCullough; sloop *Hannah*, Captain May; ship *George*, Captain Martin; all for Cork."

July 11.—"Captain Malcom from Belfast spoke Captain Williams from Cork for Maryland."

July 25.—"Arrived: the brig *New Speedwell*, Captain Gamble, from Cork, who reported he had spoke a brig from Dublin for Maryland, out fifty-two days."

August 15.—Cleared for departure: "Ship *Philadelphia*, Captain Malcom, and ship *Walworth*, Captain McCausland, for Cork; ship *Newry Packet*, Captain Robinson, for Dublin; snow *Charlotte*, Captain Curtis, for Waterford."

September 19.—“Arrived out from Philadelphia: Captains Garrigues and Matthews at Cork, Rankin at Newry, Towns at Dublin, and McCutcheon at Belfast.”

November 14.—“Arrived out” or “Cleared for departure” from Philadelphia: Ship *Hercules*, Captain Linsey, at Cork; ship *Kitty and Peggy*, Ferguson, and brig *Polly*, McCutcheon, for Belfast; ship *Charming Sally*, Cooper, for Newry; brig *James*, McCulloh, for Cork; brig *Greenock*, Scott, for Dublin.”

Pennsylvania Gazette, Year 1772

March 5.—“By Captain Pym from Dublin, arrived at New York, we learn that a brig from Waterford bound for Baltimore with servants, was cast away in Dublin Bay the beginning of December and it was feared would be lost.”

April 30.—Captain Hardie, who arrived in “the brig *Patty* from Cork,” advertised having on board “one hundred servants and redemptioners, Men, Women, Boys and Girls, among them are sundry Tradesmen, such as Smiths, Nail-workers, Shoe-makers, Taylors, Skinners, Carpenters, Gardiners, Grooms, and Farmers, whose Times are to be disposed of by the Master on board said brig.”

September 9.—In announcing the arrival from Ireland of the ship *Walworth*, Captain McCausland, the paper stated that “with Captain McCausland came 300 Passengers,” and that “the ship *General Wolfe*, Captain Hunter, sailed for this port eight days before Captain McCausland, and the brig *Boscawen*, Captain

Marshall, was expected to sail soon after him, also for this port."

Pennsylvania Gazette, Year 1773

May 5.—"On Sunday arrived here the ship *Friendship*, Captain McCulloch, from Belfast, with 250 passengers."

May 12.—"Captain Slacomb, from Dublin, on the 21st of last month, in Lat. 30:19, Long. 67, spoke the ship *Hope*, Captain Casey, from Cork, with Passengers on board for Augustine."

August 4.—Sunday last the ship *Newry's Assistance*, Captain Cunningham, arrived here from Newry with 270 Passengers, all very healthy."

August 11.—"Since our last, the ship *Hannah*, Captain Mitchell, arrived here from Londonderry with upwards of 500 Passengers." Also "Captain Hunter, from Londonderry, with 546 Passengers."

November 3.—"The ship *Prince of Wales*, Captain Morrison, is arrived at Baltimore from Londonderry with about 200 Passengers, which makes no less than 3500 that have left that Port only, within one year."

New York Journal or General Advertiser, Year 1772

January 23.—In announcing the arrival of "the brig, *Connolly*, which sailed from Dublin the beginning of October with 70 Passengers for America," it said: "The despatches say that two other vessels sailed the same day from Dublin with passengers for America and one from Cork."

February 27.—"A brig belonging to Waterford,

bound for Baltimore with servants, was cast away in Dublin Bay." This news was brought by the Captain of the ship *Countess of Donegal*, which arrived in New York that day from Dublin.

June 25.—A despatch from Philadelphia said that the Captain of the ship *Jupiter*, from Ireland, had arrived there and "brought with him and landed at Newcastle and this place 430 passengers, all in good health. It is said the high price of lands and provisions will induce great numbers to leave Ireland for America this year."

August 29.—The arrival at Philadelphia of "Captain Malcom from Belfast, Ireland, with 380 passengers," was announced.

September 10.—"Captain McCulloch from Newry, arrived at Philadelphia, has brought 400 passengers."

October 29.—"The *General Wolfe*, from Ireland, with 250 people on board for this port," was reported in a letter from Baltimore dated October 16, 1772.

December 3.—A despatch from Charleston, South Carolina, gave an account of "250 passengers who are just arrived here from Ireland in order to settle in this Province."

New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Year 1773

January 4.—This issue announced the arrival at New York of eight ships from Irish ports, and in the same paper of December 20, 1773, there are advertisements of the sailing of seven vessels from New York for Ireland, which had previously arrived from Irish ports.

June 14.—"Just arrived from Cork in the Brigantine

Galway Packet, Hugh Fallon, Master, a number of healthy men and women servants and redemptioners, whose freights are payable to Mrs. Catherine Lynch in Broad Street or the Captain on board said Brigantine. Among said servants are smiths, taylors, weavers, shoemakers, wool-combers, dyers, labourers, cutlers, a buckle-maker, and a bleacher; and several women that can cook, use the needle," etc.

July 12.—A long account from Belfast relating to "the number of ships and their tonnage that sailed with passengers for North America in the last two years," taken from the *News Letter*. Then followed a list of the ships which sailed from four Irish ports in 1771 and 1772. The total was sixty-two of an aggregate tonnage of 17,350. The despatch further said: "It may be supposed, on a moderate computation, that the number of passengers were equal to the tonnage," or an average of 280 passengers per ship.

July 19.—A despatch from Philadelphia said: "Tuesday last, Captain Cheevers arrived here from Ireland with about 200 passengers, having landed a like number at New Castle, Del." The arrival of "Captain McCaddon from Cork" was announced this day and, under the head of "arrivals out," "the *Jane* from New York is arrived at Dublin." Also, "on Tuesday arrived here in eight weeks from Newry the ship *Robert*, Captain Russell, with 250 passengers, part of which he has disembarked at Amboy on their way to the lands in New Jersey and Pennsylvania where they propose to fix; the rest are destined for settlements in this Province. Most of these people being well skilled in the Linen Manu-

factory, if proper Encouragement is given to them will be an important acquisition to the British Colonies.”

October 11.—“Advices from North Carolina mention that in August last 500 settlers arrived there from Ireland.”

New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Year 1774

May 16.—Under the head of “Arrivals out from New York,” the paper announced on this day: “The *Countess of Donegal*, the *Hercules*, and the *Liberty* at Dublin; the *Jupiter* and the *Hill* at Londonderry; the *Badger* at Cork; the *Needham*, *Peggy*, *William*, *Renown*, and *Hannah* at Newry; the *Peace and Plenty* at Belfast, and the *Charlotte* at Waterford, or thirteen vessels in all which sailed for Ireland from the port of New York. All of these were engaged in passenger traffic and returned at regular intervals to America with their human freight.

June 13.—Among the vessels “Spoken by Captain Craig” on his outward voyage was “the ship *Hercules*, Captain Norwood, from Dublin for Baltimore, with 150 passengers on board, all well.” “The *Needham*, from Ireland, with about 300 Passengers,” was announced in the same paper of August 8, 1774, and the arrival “at South Carolina” of the *Jupiter*, from Ireland, “with 150 passengers as settlers in that Province,” was announced on September 12, 1774. And I find Rev. Ezra Stiles writing at Newport, R. I., on August 9, 1774, that “last month arrived at New Castle, Delaware, the snow *Charlotte*, Captain Gaffney, from

Waterford, with 100 passengers, and the ship *Hope*, Captain McClenaban, from Newry, with 200.”³³

Some historical writers say that European immigration to America “ceased altogether some time before the Revolution.” While this is correct to some extent, it does not appear probable that all Irish immigration stopped, and in this connection I quote the following items which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 4, 1775: “Saturday last Captain Cheevers arrived here from Cork with about forty passengers. The snow *Betty Greg* and a ship, Montgomery, Master, sailed from this place [Cork] three days before Captain Cheevers.” Among some news brought by a Captain Lawrence from Boston, published in the *Gazette* of May 31, 1775, was this: “Ships left at Newry, Ireland, up with passengers for America, viz. Ship *Renown*, Keith; *Britannia*, Souder; *Minerva*, Forest; *Liberty*, Loudon; the *Peter*, Eager; *Illustrious-Five*, Smith; *Lord-Dunluce*, Souter; *Sally*, Kirby; and the *Monomia*, Morrison”; or nine vessels in all about to sail from one Irish port with passengers for America.

In the absence of official statistics, these accounts from the newspapers of the time and the numerous similar items that are obtained from the same source are the best proof that can now be presented as to the extent of Irish emigration, but I think they prove beyond question that the Irish settlements in America a few years before the Revolution were large and continuous. A striking statement in this connection is that quoted from the *Belfast News Letter* in the *New York Gazette and*

³³ *Diary of Ezra Stiles*, President of Yale College.

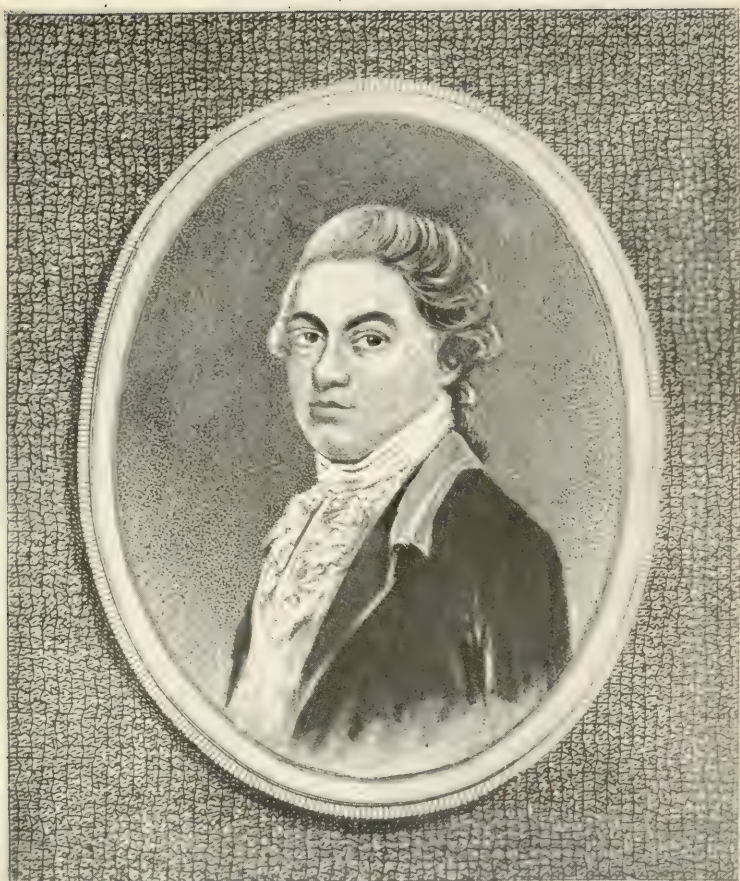
Weekly Mercury of July 12, 1773. If we assume that the estimate of this newspaper was approximately correct, it would mean that 17,350 passengers—exclusive of “servants” and “redemptioners”—sailed for America from four Irish ports in the years 1771 and 1772. If we assume further that the number of “servants” and “redemptioners” equalled the number of “passengers,” we arrive at a total of 34,700 immigrants to America from only four Irish ports during these two years; and since it is already shown by the statement of Captain Oliffe that eighteen thousand people left Ireland for America during the first six months of 1773, the conclusion is justified that the total number of Irish immigrants to America during the years 1771, 1772 and 1773 was not far short of one hundred thousand! And when we consider that the main cause why so many of these people left their native land was the harsh treatment which they received from government and landlords, is it any wonder that large numbers of Irishmen are found fighting under the standard of Washington?

CHAPTER XVI

THE "SCOTCH-IRISH" MYTH

Extensive trade between Ireland and America. Statistics showing that the majority of the vessels from Ireland were from Cork and Dublin. Eighteen thousand immigrants left Ireland for America during the first half of the year 1773. The "Scotch-Irish" myth exploded. Irish soldiers in the Colonial Wars. Composition of the Pennsylvania Regiment.

MUCH has been said about "non-Irish" emigration from Ireland to America. If we accept for the moment the statements of some historical writers that the immigrants from Ireland previous to 1775 mainly comprised the "Scotch-Irish," or, as some describe them, "the Ulster Scots," it would be natural to suppose, considering the primitive traveling facilities of that period, that these people came in ships plying from northern ports. So far as I can find, there is nothing on record to inform us of the exact numbers of people who came to America from the different parts of Ireland, and on that point the only practical guide is to be found, first in the nomenclature of the Irish settlers, and, second, in the number of passenger ships which are recorded as trading between Irish and American ports. As to the first-mentioned, while a vast number of old Irish names appear in early American records, it is now impossible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion as to how their numbers compared with those Irish immigrants bearing



REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

THOMAS LYNCH, JR.

SIGNER OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.
GRANDSON OF THOMAS LYNCH OF GALWAY, IRELAND.

non-Irish names. In an effort to arrive at some conservative basis of calculation, I have made a list of all vessels from Ireland registered at the New York and Philadelphia Custom Houses, as announced in the newspapers of the years 1771-1774,—that is, the period of the largest Irish emigrations,—and find that the total “Arrivals” from Ireland and “Cleared for Departure” for Ireland during that period were 576. This number was distributed as follows:

<i>From and For Irish Ports</i>	<i>Number of Vessels</i>	<i>From and For Irish Ports</i>	<i>Number of Vessels</i>
Cork	135	Larne	10
Dublin	124	Killala	3
Londonderry	96	Sligo, Dingle, and Kinsale, two each	6
Newry	87	Limerick, Drogheda, Kil- lybegs, and Letterkenny, one each	4
Belfast	39	“Ireland”	4
Waterford	29		
Galway	25		
Coleraine	14		

Total 576

Thus we see that of 576 sailings by vessels which plied between New York and Philadelphia and Irish ports during these four years, only 247, or about forty-three per cent., were to and from those northern ports where the “Scotch-Irish” emigrants would naturally embark, and 329, or fifty-seven per cent., were to and from those parts of Ireland where the “old Irish” are admittedly the predominant element. As showing that these figures were not unusual and that the same proportions prevailed for several years previously, I find that during the years 1767-1769 the number of vessels registered

at the New York and Philadelphia Custom Houses was 318, of which 131, or about forty per cent., sailed to and from northern ports. This number was distributed as follows:

<i>From and For Irish Ports</i>	<i>Number of Vessels</i>	<i>From and For Irish Ports</i>	<i>Number of Vessels</i>
Dublin	87	Coleraine	6
Cork	73	Larne	5
Londonderry	51	Killybegs	4
Newry	49	Killala	3
Belfast	18	Sligo	3
Waterford	10	Portaferry, Carrickfergus, and Limerick, one each..	3
Galway	6		

¹ Total 318

Evidence of this character has never been presented before, and I submit that such figures are indisputable. If we should assume from them, as did the writer in the *Belfast News-Letter* of July 12, 1773, that "on a moderate computation the number of passengers were equal to the tonnage," we can say that the "Scotch-Irish" historians have not reckoned on a true basis of fact, and the logical inference is that they merely guessed at the proportionate numbers. Even in the absence of such evidence as that of the shipping lists, if these historians had only searched for some traces of the names in the State archives or the county histories, they would be quickly disillusioned of the notion that the emigrants

¹ The total was even greater than this; 318 is the number mentioned in one newspaper alone, namely, the *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury* of the years 1767-1769, with several issues of the paper missing from the files in the New York Public Library.

from Ireland before the Revolution were "mainly the Scotch-Irish."

It is shown by the authorities already quoted that Irish immigrations to America during the period referred to averaged 12,000 per year, and it is also shown that the percentage of those who probably came from Ulster was forty-one per cent., and from all the rest of Ireland fifty-eight per cent. of the whole. From the first-mentioned proportion some deduction must be made to allow for those of unquestioned Irish blood in the north; for not even the most enthusiastic advocate of the "Scotch-Irish" theory can claim that the entire population of Ulster was of Scotch descent. For instance, it cannot for a moment be thought that a passenger ship sailing from Letterkenny or Londonderry carried only those who are called "Scotch-Irish"; for it is natural to assume that a certain proportion of the passengers must have been from Donegal, one of the most "Irish" counties of Ireland. In fact, a striking feature of the town and county histories of Pennsylvania is the frequent repetition of the statement, in relation to some certain individual or family referred to by the local historian, that he or they "came from Donegal"! If we deduct one-fifth of the forty-two per cent. as representing this element, we have only thirty-four per cent. of the total Irish immigration left to the "Scotch-Irish," or an estimate, for the period 1767 to 1774, of 32,640 "Scotch-Irish" immigrants and 63,360 plain Irish immigrants.

In view of these figures, what possible justification can there be for the persistent claim that Irish immigration

to America, outside of the "Scotch-Irish," was an unimportant and negligible factor? Of course, the real fact of the matter is that every Irish immigrant whose name began with "Mac," or whose name apparently was not of Irish origin, or who was not of the Catholic faith, was placed in the "Scotch-Irish" category.

In the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* and in the voluminous *Pennsylvania Archives*, compiled and published by authority of the State Legislature, may be seen such lists as taxables, tithables, jurors, election returns, grantees of land, county and district officers, muster-rolls of the "Associators and Militia," Colonial and Revolutionary soldiers, etc., in all of which Irish names stand side by side with those of Teutonic, English, and other origins. As a rule, copies of these records are available at the leading libraries, and even a casual examination of them by those who have had to rely on the work of the general historians for information on this subject would be a revelation indeed. There is no history of any town, city, or county of Pennsylvania that does not contain a certain proportion of Irish names among those who are enumerated as "the pioneer settlers," and in some sections of the province it is seen that, until the great influx of Germans set in, the Irish were in a vast majority. They were a hardy and resolute element; an undaunted spirit of adventure seems to have led them to the furthest outposts of western Pennsylvania and the Ohio, whence they spread up and down the Allegheny and Shenandoah valleys; they built the highways, bridged the streams, and cut down the virgin forests;

and despite the difficulties which confronted them, their log cabins were reared and their clearings tilled in every valley and forest from the Delaware River to the very frontiers of civilization.

In these wilderness settlements they established churches and schools, and I venture the prediction here, that when a more impartial age shall have expunged from the record the aspersions that have been cast upon the Irish pioneers, the greatest credit that history will bestow upon them will be their furnishing a larger proportion of the schoolmasters of the province than any other European people!

The spirit of patriotism strongly manifested itself among those Pennsylvania Irishmen. Their names are listed conspicuously among the provincial troops in the Colonial wars, and throughout the struggles with the Indians they bravely sustained their share of the burden of defending the frontiers. When, in later years, the alarm of the American Revolution was sounded in the hills and valleys of Pennsylvania, it awakened a congenial thrill among the inhabitants, especially in the blood of that race which had for so many years resisted the arbitrary power of England in the land of their fathers.

There is nothing that so strikingly illustrates this point as a glance at the personnel of some of the fighting units organized in Pennsylvania at various times during the Colonial wars. The muster-rolls of the soldiers who served in the early wars of the province are preserved by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and have been reproduced in their original form in the State Ar-

chives, and an examination of these rolls opens up some very interesting speculations as to how much the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania owes to its pioneer Irish settlers. In 1746, Governor Thomas ordered that four hundred men be raised for service in an intended expedition to Canada, and of the 327 men recruited in the "Lower Counties" ² in August of that year by Captains John Shannon, William Trent, and Samuel Perry, fifty-five per cent. were recorded as "born in Ireland." The following summary shows the countries of nativity of the men of these companies; and when we consider the fact that all were young men and that they were occupied in manual toil, we can readily conclude that they were excellent fighting material and, doubtless, rendered good service to the State:

<i>Born in</i>		<i>Born in</i>	
Ireland	180	West Indies	2
America	47	Wales	1
England	39	Denmark	1
Germany	27	Sweden	1
Scotland	11	Not stated	18

Total 327

In 1758 a body of men known as "The Pennsylvania Regiment" was organized for service in the wars with the French and Indians, and the composition of the various companies of this regiment furnishes another example of the presence of the Irish in large numbers and of their eagerness to fight for their adopted country. The following table shows a comparison of the various nationalities comprising this regiment:

² Now Delaware.

DIVISIONS BY NATIONALITIES OF THE MEN RECRUITED FOR THE PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT IN THE YEAR 1758

(From *Pennsylvania Archives*, 5th Ser., Vol. I)

Companies commanded by	Countries where born					Total Enlisted Strength	Proportion of Irishmen
	Ireland	America	England	Scotland	Wales		
Captain John Singleton . . .	50	.	.	1	.	53	94%
Captain Charles McClung .	29	6	.	.	1	39	74%
Captain John Haslet	32	9	5	3	.	50	64%
Captain Montgomery	13	4	1	1	.	21	62%
Captain Paul Jackson	25	12	4	1	.	44	57%
Captain James Armstrong .	29	17	2	2	1	53	55%
Captain Robert Boyd	24	16	4	1	.	47	51%
Captain Charles Stewart . .	23	16	3	.	.	46	50%
Captain Samuel Neilson . . .	26	15	5	2	2	53	50%
Captain Robert Curry	20	12	2	4	1	47	43%
Captain McClughan	44	45	10	2	1	105	42%
Captain Walker	20	24	2	1	.	50	40%
Captain Johnston	4	3	1	3	1	12	33%
Captain John Mather	17	15	7	.	1	55	31%
Captain Samuel Grubb . . .	10	.	22	2	.	34	30%
Captain Benj. Noxon	28	49	11	3	5	96	29%
Captain Robert Eastburn .	15	10	5	1	1	53	28%
Major Joseph Shippen	13	8	5	1	.	46	28%
Captain John Blackwood..	14	8	5	6	1	53	27%
Captain James Burd	13	8	4	1	11	51	26%
Totals	449	277	98	35	15	1008	44.54%

Average proportions

<i>Average proportions</i>	<i>Average proportions</i>
Irishmen 44.54%	Scotchmen 3.47%
Native Americans . . . 27.48%	Welshmen 1.48%
	All others 3.19%
	100.00%

Such figures need little comment. They stand out as eloquent tributes to the patriotism of those American Irishmen of Colonial days who accepted a certain part of the responsibility in the laying of the foundations of our country's future greatness. Comparatively few among them rose above the rank of enlisted men; they were mostly the simple folk from the so-called "lower ranks of society," honest, hard-working "sons of toil" who contributed an important share to the hard tasks that confronted the pioneers in a new and undeveloped country.

CHAPTER XVII

EARLY IRISH SETTLEMENTS IN NEW YORK

The Colonial Land Records. Vast numbers of old Irish names recorded. Extracts from New York newspapers of the Colonial period. Annual celebrations of Saint Patrick's Day. Irish merchants and landowners of the city of New York. Irish soldiers in the Colonial Army.

IN New York records may also be found many similar data testifying to the presence of Irish people during the Colonial period. They were here, in fact, before the opening of the eighteenth century, and it is a matter of record that an Irishman, Thomas Lewis, was "one of the richest inhabitants of New York" in the year 1674.¹ In a report to the "Lord President of the Council" dated September 8, 1687, we find Governor Thomas Dongan² recommending "that natives of Ireland be sent here to colonize, where they may live and be very happy";³ and that some accepted the invitation may be assumed from the number of Irish names that appear a few years later in public documents of the province. These names are found chiefly in records of Suffolk, Albany, Columbia, Ulster, and Westchester counties, and especially in the lists of persons to whom

¹ *Records of New Amsterdam.*

² Governor Dongan was of the ancient Irish family of that name and was born at Castletown, in County Kildare.

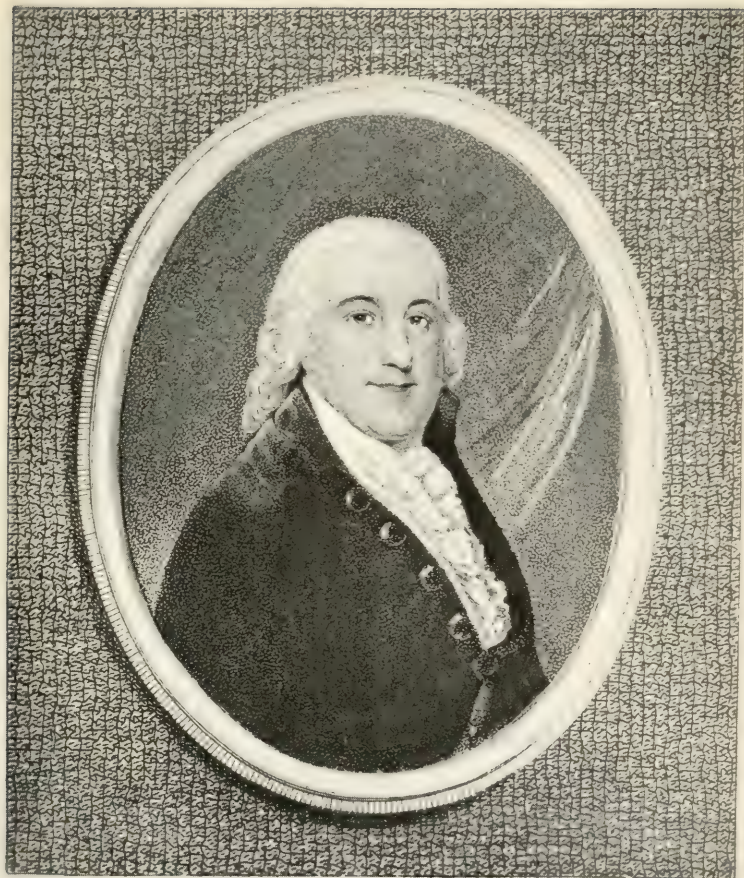
³ *Documentary History of New York*, by Edmund B. O'Callaghan, Vol. I, p. 256.

marriage licenses were issued or who were married at the Dutch Reformed Church of the city of New York. In Jonathan Pearson's work, *Genealogies of the First Settlers of the Ancient County of Albany from 1636 to 1800*, and also in a similar compilation from the records of Schenectady County, are mentioned 435 Irishmen and Irishwomen who were residents of that section in the eighteenth century, and the manner in which certain of the names are spelled at once explains how some of the descendants of these Irish settlers formed the impression that they are of old English or Dutch stock!

Among the important material sources from which information on this subject is obtained are the Land Papers at the office of the Secretary of State, which contain 250 entries, all told, covering warrants for tracts of land from the Colonial government to Irish immigrants or former Colonial soldiers at various times during the eighteenth century.⁴ This does not mean that only 250 Irishmen received warrants for land during that period, for some of the individual land grants represented several separate families. As an example of this, the *Petition of Robert Harper of New York* represented an immigration of "no less than 200 or 300 families" who were about to sail from Ireland to settle in the province of New York in the year 1763.⁵ According

⁴ See *Calendar of New York Colonial MSS.*, endorsed *Land Papers*, 1643 to 1803, compiled by the Secretary of State; Albany, 1864.

⁵ See *Petitions of Robert Harper* dated January 19, March 14, and April 12, 1763, in the *Colonial Land Records of New York*, Vol. XVI.



REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

EDWARD RUTLEDGE

SIGNER OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, A NATIVE OF IRELAND.

to histories of Washington County, the Irish Colonists referred to in the petitions of Robert Harper sailed for New York on the 10th of May, 1764, and during the next year they located on a tract of 40,000 acres in the vicinity of what is now Salem, White Creek, and Stillwater, Washington County. We are told "they were mostly from the district of Ballybay in the County of Monaghan," and in various public records of that section of the State their descendants are mentioned for several generations, showing them to have been among the prominent and prosperous people of the county.

Another large Irish colony located on the west side of Lake Champlain, in what is now Essex County, New York, in the year 1765. This settlement was founded by William Gilliland, a native of Ireland, a man of extraordinary energy and intellectual powers, whose name is writ large in the pre-Revolutionary history of the Champlain Valley.⁶ In 1764 he purchased several thousand acres of land near Lake Champlain from British officers and soldiers who had received grants of these lands for military services, and in the Land Papers of New York⁷ may be seen several petitions by William Gilliland between 1763 and 1771 praying for additional grants of land in the same neighborhood and showing that they were "intended for settlement by a number of families from Ireland." The names of these settlers

⁶ See *Pioneer History of the Champlain Valley*, by Winslow G. Watson; Albany, 1863. Also *Three Centuries in the Champlain Valley*, published by the Saranac Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

⁷ Vols. XVII and XL.

which have been preserved indicate that they came from various parts of Ireland. Gilliland left a remarkably interesting Journal, from which much of the early history of this region is obtainable.⁸ It embraces the period from May 10, 1765, down to the year of his death (1796), and from it we obtain many interesting data concerning this Irish settlement. In an appendix to the *Orderly Book of the Northern Army at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence* from October 17, 1776, to January 8, 1777,⁹ there is an historical sketch by Winslow G. Watson on "The Fortresses of Crown Point and Ticonderoga," which relates the following singular and impressive incident of the establishment of a local government by this backwoods settlement:

"An Event occurred in 1775, which forcibly illustrates the Tendency at that Time, of publick Sentiment to democratick Institutions and exhibits its Bias towards the Doctrines of Self-Government. This Settlement, it has been stated, was in the ideal Limits of Charlotte County. but it possessed no tangible and practical political or social Organization. It was too remote to be reached by the protecting Arm of Government and too unimportant to receive any specific legislative Action. The Presence and Ascendancy of some civil or political Power were demanded in the changed Conditions and increased Population of the Colony by their common Interests and for their mutual Protection and Safety. Under these Circumstances, they convened on the 17th of March, 1775, by common Approbation, an Assembly of the Colonists and constituted themselves in Effect a pure Democracy. (They were chiefly Irish and Saint Patrick's Festival was no doubt designedly adopted for the occasion.) At this popular Convention, it was determined to

⁸ Gilliland's Journal shows that it was he who laid the plan for the seizure of Fort Ticonderoga by Colonel Ethan Allen.

⁹ Published at Albany, New York, 1859.

institute, for many practical Purposes, a local Government. A System of Police and social Regulations were matured, formally adopted and ratified by the individual signatures of the Citizens. It was made imperative upon all, and each was pledged to abide by its Provisions 'by every Tie of Honour and Honesty.' In contemplating this singular and most interesting Incident, the Mind instinctively reverts to the Cabin of the *May Flower*, where a similar Scene was enacted under the Guidance of the same Spirit and resting upon the same eternal Principles."

The Colonial manuscripts of New York, published by the State and edited by the distinguished historian, Edmund B. O'Callaghan;¹⁰ the voluminous publications of the New York Historical Society; and the probate records of the earliest settled counties of the State contain a vast number of names of Irish people who came to settle in the province of New York during the Colonial period. It is rather curious also to find in the marriage and birth records of the Dutch Reformed Church and of the Presbyterian churches of the city of New York a very large number of old Irish Catholic names, some of them dating back to the first quarter of the eighteenth century. These records have been carefully investigated by the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, and in the publications of that society may be seen verbatim copies of the entries in the original parish registers, showing in numerous cases such curious spellings of Irish names as to render them unrecognizable to the ordinary reader unacquainted with Irish nomenclature. In a list of "Names of Persons for whom Marriage Licenses were issued by the Secre-

¹⁰ *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State*, by Edmund B. O'Callaghan; Albany, 1866.

tary of State of the Province of New York, previous to 1784,"¹¹ I find 1049 Irish names. The material contained in these publications is unquestionable and authentic, for it was copied with the most scrupulous care from the original records.

As early as 1700, Ireland exported much linen, raw and manufactured, to the Colonies, and it is a fact that all of the linen used by the inhabitants for many years came from Ireland. In course of time the Colonists established linen factories for themselves, for which purpose they brought over a large number of Irish weavers. In a "Report from Governor William Tryon on the State of the Province of New York," dated June 11, 1774,¹² he said that "more than eleven-twelfths of the inhabitants are cloathed in linen imported from Ireland," and that "there is every year a great Quantity of Flax seed, lumber and Iron sent to Ireland in ships generally belonging to that Kingdom, which come out annually with passengers and Servants, as also with Linen, Beef, and Butter." In the New York newspapers from 1750 down to the end of the century, there were printed regularly every week advertisements announcing the importation and sale of all kinds of Irish manufactured goods, and during that period I estimate that, all told, the newspapers published not less than twenty-five

¹¹ Published at Albany in 1860 by Gideon T. Tucker, Secretary of State. For numerous Irish names see also *Abstracts of Wills*, published in fourteen volumes by the New York Historical Society.

¹² Document No. XLIV, quoted in O'Callaghan's *Documentary History of New York*, Vol. I, pp. 739-769; London.

thousand advertisements covering the sale of Irish goods.¹³

In the issue of Bradford's *New York Gazette* of the week April 7-14, 1735, there is "an account of vessels entered and cleared in the Custom Houses from December 31, 1733, to March 28, 1734," and of these vessels fifty-four traded between Ireland and New York and Philadelphia, twenty-eight of which were from Dublin, nine from Belfast, four from Cork, two each from Waterford and Londonderry, and nine from "Ireland." If we assume that this traffic was maintained at the same rate during the remainder of the year, it is seen that the total number of ships sailing for and arriving at these two ports from Ireland was approximately 224 for the year. In the same paper of the years 1736 to 1738 I find forty-two vessels trading between Ireland and New York, and in the *New York Evening Post* of the year 1747 thirty-three such vessels are listed; and as only comparatively few copies of these newspapers are on file at the New York Public Library, where I examined them, we may assume that the number of vessels which arrived from Ireland at the port of New York during this period was quite large.

In the *New York Gazette and Weekly Post-Boy* of the years 1753 to 1758, under the head of "Ships Registered at the Custom House," there are enumerated

¹³ In Achenwall's *Observations on North America*, first printed in the *Hanoverian Magazine* in 1767, and republished in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (Vol. XXVII), it is stated that two million pounds sterling of Ireland's products were sold yearly in America.

132 vessels, all told, trading between the port of New York and various Irish ports; and according to the Custom House lists printed in the *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*¹⁴ of the years 1766 to 1770, 127 ships "arrived from Ireland" and 242 "cleared for departure for Ireland," or a yearly average of seventy-four sailings between Irish ports and the port of New York alone. When we consider that the advertisements in the newspapers announcing the return of some of these vessels to Ireland said they had "ample accommodations for passengers," we may conjecture the large number of Irish people who were brought to New York during the various periods referred to. In one issue of the *Mercury*, namely, that of December 12, 1768, may be seen sixteen separate advertisements by the masters or agents of vessels about to return to their home ports in Ireland, and it is a singular fact that the same paper contains only two advertisements of vessels sailing to other European countries! Occasionally this paper also published accounts of the arrival of immigrants destined to other parts of the country; as, for instance, the following despatch from Pensacola, Florida, which appeared in its issue of March 3, 1766: "Lieutenant-Governor Brown has arrived at this place with two hundred settlers from Ireland." And on May 21, 1763, the *Mercury* printed an account of the arrival at Boston of Captain Daniel McCarthy in the *Sally*, with a ship-load of passengers "from Kingsale in Ireland."

¹⁴ The founder and editor of this paper was Hugh Gaine, a native of Belfast, Ireland. It was established as *The Mercury* in the year 1752.

From the news columns of the New York newspapers between the years 1762 and 1766 are also obtainable some very interesting data. A regular item of news appearing each year in these papers was the account of the celebrations held by the Irish residents of the city on "the Anniversary of Saint Patrick, Tutelar Saint of Ireland," which, it was frequently stated, "were attended by many gentlemen of that nation and others." As an example of the character of the entertainments on these annual feast days, the *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury* of March 20, 1766, published a report of a celebration held on the previous 17th of March, "ushered in at dawn with fifes and drums," which produced "a very agreeable harmony among the inhabitants." Among the toasts drunk on that occasion we find: "May the enemies of America be branded with infamy and disdain"; "Success to American manufacturers"; "The Day and Prosperity to Ireland," and others of the same tenor. And the fact that one of the toasts was, "Success to the Sons of Liberty," shows that the New York Irish kept abreast of the politics of the time and swept along with the rising tide of republicanism to which the passage of the Stamp Act the year before had given considerable impetus.

That this feeling was mutual may be seen from an account of "an elegant entertainment" on the evening of March 17, 1771, held by the New York Sons of Liberty, published in Gaine's paper of March 25, 1771. The entertainment, we are told, was attended by "a great number of the principal inhabitants of the City, Friends to Liberty and Trade," and among the toasts drunk on

this occasion was: "Prosperity to Ireland and the worthy Sons and Daughters of Saint Patrick." On the same evening, New York Irishmen were holding their annual celebration of Saint Patrick's Day, and the report in Gaine's paper of the dinner of the Sons of Liberty said: "Messages of Civil Compliment were exchanged by those Gentlemen and the Friendly Brothers of Saint Patrick, who dined at the Queen's Head Tavern."¹⁵ The *Mercury* on March 16, 1775, contained an announcement that "to-morrow, being the anniversary of Saint Patrick, Tutelar Saint of Ireland, will be observed with the usual respect and attention by his generous sons and their descendants." It is rather significant that very few of such announcements appeared during the period of the war, but, on the next recurring Saint Patrick's Day after the evacuation of the city by the British, an especially joyous feast was held, and the present body, The Society of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick, was organized by Irish residents of the City of New York."¹⁶

Among the sources from which I have collected much material concerning the early Irish of the City of New York, may be mentioned the *Records of New Amsterdam*,¹⁷ containing the Minutes of the Court of Burgomasters and Schepens, the Minutes of the Meetings of

¹⁵ Now Fraunces' Tavern, at Broad and Pearl Streets.

¹⁶ Many interesting extracts from New York and other newspapers of this period, containing accounts of these annual celebrations in various parts of the Colonies, may be found in John D. Crimmins' *Early Celebrations of Saint Patrick's Day*, published in New York in 1902.

¹⁷ Edited by Berthold Fernow and published by the city in seven volumes in 1897.

the Common Council of the City of New York,¹⁸ Lists of Freemen and the Poll Lists of the City,¹⁹ the original Tax and Assessment Rolls of the City,²⁰ the original records of the Surrogate's office,²¹ and the Records of Conveyances at the office of the Register for the City and County of New York.²² From the latter source alone I have collected the details of 750 legal instruments, all executed prior to the year 1800, chiefly covering transactions in real estate in which men and women of the most distinctive Irish names appear as the principals. When we find in these early records such names as O'Farrell, O'Brien, Mooney, McGrath, McGowan, Duane, Lynch, Mulligan, Daly, Ryan, Sullivan, Murphy, Flanagan, McGuire, Hogan, McCormick, McDavitt, Kelly, Burke, and Shea, and so on, among the prosperous business men of the city and consider the number of legal instruments recorded at the Register's office, we may safely assume that Irishmen occupied a place of importance in the business and social life of the community.

That large numbers of Irishmen settled throughout the Colony of New York twenty years or more before the Revolution, is strikingly illustrated by the rosters of the soldiers who joined the armed forces raised in defence of the colony during the French-English War. The names of these men may be found in the publications of the New York Historical Society.

¹⁸ Published by the city in 1905 in eight volumes.

¹⁹ For copies of these lists, see James Grant Wilson's *History of the City of New York*.

²⁰ On file at the Comptroller's office.

²¹ At the Hall of Records.

²² *Ibid.*

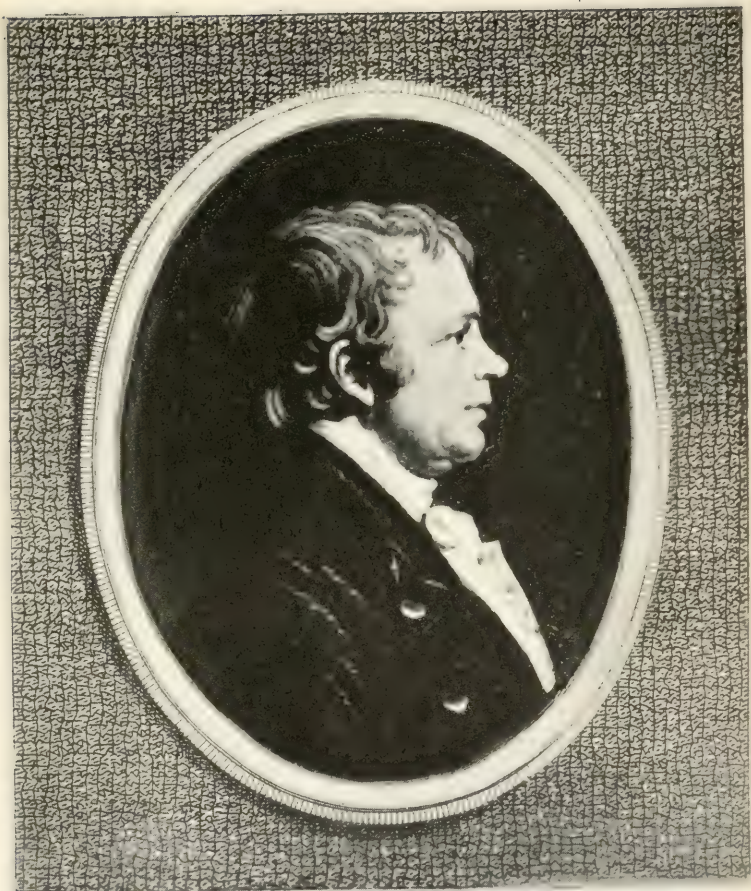
CHAPTER XVIII

THE "IRISH DONATION"

How Ireland succored the famishing Colonists in 1676. Irish immigration to New England. The town of Cork, Maine. Massachusetts records. Shipping between Boston and Irish ports. The Charitable Irish Society of Boston founded in 1737. The Town Books of Boston a wealth of historic data concerning the Irish pioneers.

THE fact that in Ireland there was a certain familiarity with Colonial affairs even as early as the seventeenth century is proven in many ways, but none more so than by the action taken by the citizens of Dublin when the news reached that city of the distressed condition of the New England Colonists resulting from "King Philip's War." No more striking instance of practical sympathy toward the suffering Colonists is related in American history than this incident. The Indian war of 1675-1676 was bloody and devastating in the extreme. Large numbers of the inhabitants of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island fell in battle or were murdered by the savage foe and many towns were destroyed, and it is worthy of note that more than one hundred Irish names are enumerated among the Colonial militia who fought the Indian hordes.¹ In these times of distress and misery it is recorded that Ire-

¹ See list of Irish soldiers who fought in King Philip's war, in *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, Vol. XIII.



REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

MAJOR CHARLES MC HENRY

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

BORN IN ANTRIM, IRELAND.

land was the *only* European country which sent relief to the Colonists, and so large was the consignment that the Lord Mayor of Dublin sent three Commissioners to Boston to take charge of the distribution of the "Irish Donation," as it is called in the official records of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. It is not known what the "Irish Donation" actually consisted of, but that, with traditional Irish generosity, it was liberal in the extreme we may judge from the fact that the cost of the freight alone was the very large sum for those days of £475 sterling. The relief came in the ship *Katherine*, which sailed from Dublin for Boston on August 28, 1676. In Massachusetts alone 47 towns and 2351 persons were succored by this timely Irish relief.²

The popular legend propagated by New England historians, that all of the early settlers in that region were of English stock, is quickly dissipated by consulting the records. At the port of Boston, as early as the third decade of the seventeenth century, merchant vessels from Ireland are numbered among the arrivals, and between 1714 and 1720, fifty-three ships, mostly "with passengers," were registered at Boston from various Irish ports,³ and in the year 1733 twenty-nine vessels

² At the time of the Irish famine of 1847 this incident was gratefully recalled by the New England Historic and Genealogical Society, and in that society's *Annual Register* (for the year 1848), as well as in George Madison Bodge's *History of King Philip's War* and in Rev. Mr. Watterson's *Voyage of the Jamestown*, authentic accounts of the "Irish Donation" may be found.

³ Boston *Town Records*, containing tax lists, deeds, wills, mortgages, Custom House records, notarial and court records, births, baptisms, marriages, and deaths, including Roxbury, Dorchester, Charlestown, and other districts.

were "entered outwards for Ireland" at the Boston Custom House.⁴ In such ancient records as have been reproduced by New England historical societies and in the reprints of various official documents of the colony, such as probate entries, land grants, and court files, as well as birth and marriage lists, family papers, etc., may be found a vast number of Irish names, some as far back as the middle of the seventeenth century. While it is probable that the majority of the Irish who found asylum in New England at that early period were of the "redemptioner" or "indentured servant" class, it is known that Irishmen of substance and good social standing also came and settled permanently in the colony.⁵

⁴ From an incomplete list in Bradford's *New York Gazette* in 1735.

⁵ In *Suffolk Deeds* (Liber 1 to 14), prepared from the originals by William Blake Trask, the eminent antiquary, and published by the county, 1883 to 1906, among the "Grantors" and "Grantees" between 1655 and 1697 may be seen the following names, indicating that these persons were property-owners in Boston at that early period:

David Kelly
 Arthur Gill
 Arthur Garey
 John Cogan
 Roger Corbett
 Daniel Cushin
 John Cosgrove
 Thomas Foley
 Ambrose Gibbons
 Thomas Griffin
 William Healy
 Elizabeth Kelley
 Ferdinand Gilligan

Edward Collins
 John Cushen
 Matthew Cushen
 John Collins
 John Corbett
 John Keene
 John Macgoune
 Fergus McDowell
 Thomas Killen
 Florence Mac Carty
 Thaddeus MacKarty
 Samuel Sexton
 Peter Butler

In the records of the town of Boston of the last years of the seventeenth and the early years of the eighteenth century hardly any names are mentioned more frequently than those of Florence and Thaddeus McCarthy, and in other towns Irish names of ancient origin appear with strange frequency among those of the Puritans and their descendants, as merchants, mechanics, and tillers of the soil.

In 1720 five ships arrived at Boston from Ireland with about 1500 passengers, most of whom located in the settlements along the coast of Maine, and one large colony which planted itself in that year at the junction of the Kennebec and Eastern rivers in Lincoln County established the town of Cork,⁶ which, however, was destroyed by the Indians six years later. A bend of the Eastern River near the present town of Dresden in Lincoln County is still known as the "Cove of Cork," and

And among the witnesses to these deeds, or persons mentioned therein, are:

John Mackenny	John Casey	Edward Barrett
Henry Larkin	Michael Martin	John Kelley
Robert Keane	William Gibbons	David Fitzgerald
Brian Murphey	James Barree	Teague Crehore
Thomas Murfey	Nicholas Lynch	Dermot Mahoone
James Barrett	Thomas Barrett	Thomas Sexton
William Dempsey	William Colman	Anthony Griffin
Thomas Gill	William Gill	James Butler
Anna Mullins	Patrick Ohogen	Darby Maguire

⁶ For interesting and authentic accounts of the enterprise of Robert Temple and of the ill-fated town of Cork, see *Collections of the Maine Historical Society* and *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, Vol. XII.

the district for several miles along the river for more than a century was known locally by the familiar name of "Ireland." Some New England historians, in referring to this extraordinarily large immigration, say that it was comprised solely of "the Scotch-Irish from the North of Ireland," but that theory is refuted by the facts furnished us from local records of various Maine towns in the vicinity where they settled, and by the further fact that these people were brought over by Robert Temple of the city of Cork, and that three of the vessels sailed from that port. Of course there were many from the northern counties of Ireland, as there have been in all Irish immigrations, but the names, which are the surest guide in the absence of positive information as to the parts of Ireland whence they came, plainly indicate that a large proportion of them were families from the south and west of Ireland. ⁷

⁷ The following examples of some surnames taken from various eighteenth century records of Lincoln County, Maine, where the main body of the Irish immigrants located, serve as an indication of the class of people who settled in that territory:

Noonan	O'Neill	Hayley	Ryan
Fitzgerald	McBride	Fogerty	Prendergast
Walsh	Sullivan	Daly	Foley
Kenny	Donnell	Lynch	Hurley
McKenny	Corbett	Carney	Tobin
McMahon	McKeown	Gahan	Clancy
McFadden	McGuire	Cassidy	Costagan
McGowan	McCarthy	Dunn	Quinn
McCaffrey	McGra	Connelly	Whalen
Madden	Quinnan	Kelley	Riley
Condon	Hickey	Leary	Connell
Kelliher	Tynan	Meloney	Higgins

Robert Temple was of the Tipperary family of that name which intermarried into the Emmet family, and I am informed by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet that the story of Robert Temple's settlement in Maine has been well known in both families for generations, and that the tradition is that the immigrants of 1720 were "mostly from the counties of Cork and Kerry." On account of the continued raids of the Indians and the lack of protection by the Colonial government, these Irish Colonists in course of time scattered all over the provinces of Maine and New Hampshire, while some emigrated to Pennsylvania; and the land, church, probate, and other records of various towns and settlements in Lincoln, Cumberland, and York counties, Maine, contain the names of a very large number of Irish people who resided in those districts during the first half of the eighteenth century. This great Irish immigration to New England is remarkable when we consider the hostility shown there to persons of Irish birth. For example, a news item dated "Dublin, October 28, 1728," published in the *American Weekly*

Cooney	O'Brien	Carroll	Corcoran
Doyle	O'Murphy	McLaughlin	Crowley
Barry	Maher	Mooney	Mulligan
Murphy	Flynn	McDonal	McNamara
Phelan	Hogan	Haggerty	Haley
Riordan	Roche	Connery	Kavanagh
Rourke	Butler	McQuillan	McSweeney
Cleary	Mahoney	McManus	Powers
Farrell	O'Dee	Bourke	Flanagan
Connors	Shea	Duggan	
Malloy	Connor	Macgraw	

Mercury of Philadelphia of February 18, 1729, said that "above nineteen hundred families had already sailed from Ireland to New England," and that "many more are daily setting out for that place, the rents of land being risen so high that tillers of it say they can hardly get bread."

There is hardly a town or city in any of the New England States, whose vital statistics are now available, where one cannot find Irish names scattered through the lists of the early settlers; and in some towns these names occur so frequently that, when examining the records, the thought at once arises as to why the descendants of these people seem to have exerted so little influence in proportion to their numbers. In most cases, little more than the mere mention of the names can now be found, yet, on the whole, the number of Irish families and their descendants of the first and second generations who are enumerated among the well-to-do is remarkable. For the convenience of those who may wish to verify these statements, I append hereto a list of various official records, verbatim copies of which have been published and are usually available at the large public libraries and historical societies.

In such records as the Minutes of the Meetings of the Selectmen of the Town of Boston,⁸ the Suffolk Court Files,⁹ the Probate Records of Suffolk

⁸ Vols. XIII to XXVII of the *Town Books*, published by the Board of Record Commissioners at Boston.

⁹ *Records of the Supreme Judicial Court*, compiled and published by the Massachusetts Historical Society; Boston, 1897. Also *Records of the Court of General Sessions of Suffolk County*; New York, 1887.

County,¹⁰ the Lincoln County Wills,¹¹ the State Records of New Hampshire,¹² the Town Registers of various Maine and New Hampshire towns,¹³ the Vital Records of Massachusetts towns,¹⁴ the voluminous collections of the New England Historic and Genealogical Society,¹⁵ the numerous local histories of New England towns, which in most cases contain verbatim copies of the entries in the original Town Books, and the many other sources of information that have been published by historical societies, genealogists, and searchers into the original records, may be seen a long succession of familiar Irish names, showing that at an early period of its existence as an English colony New England attracted thither large numbers of Irish immigrants.

In the Minutes of the Meetings of the Selectmen of the Town of Boston the arrival of vessels from Europe is recorded at various times. "The *Globe* from Ireland" arrived at that port on June 25, 1716, with twenty-nine passengers; the ships *Patience* and *Judith* arrived from London on June 30, 1716, with passengers, several of whom were Irish, and "the *America* from Lisburn in Ireland" arrived on July 3, 1716. A meeting of the selectmen was held on August 12, 1718, for the purpose of

¹⁰ Compiled by Elijah George, Register of Probate; Boston, 1896.

¹¹ Registered in the District Probate Register at Lincoln, Maine.

¹² Published by the State; Concord, New Hampshire.

¹³ Many of the New England towns have published official Registers containing extracts from the Town Clerks' records and the names of the pioneer settlers.

¹⁴ The Birth, Baptismal, Marriage, and Death Records of many Massachusetts towns and cities have been published.

¹⁵ Seventy-one volumes; Boston, 1847 to 1917.

determining the disposition of "the Passengers Lately Arrived here from Ireland and elsewhere"; and at a meeting of the same body held on September 12, 1724, Captain Philip Bass appeared and reported upon the condition of "the Passengers in his vessel lately arrived from Ireland into this Harbour." At a meeting on August 9, 1736, mention was made of "nineteen Transports¹⁶ just imported from Cork in Ireland," and in the next month Captain John Carroll reported to the selectmen that he had brought a number of people from Ireland, and on September 22, 1736, they were all "admitted as inhabitants." At a meeting on November 10, 1736, "Captain George Beard executed a Bond of the Penalty of One Thousand Pounds to Indemnify the Town from Charges on account of Thirty-seven Passengers imported by him from Ireland in the sloop *Hannah*," and two weeks later Captain James Williams of the sloop *Two Mollys* gave a similar bond in the sum of eleven hundred pounds "on account of forty-three Passengers by the said Williams imported from Ireland." On September 7, 1737, "Captain Daniel Gibbs, Commander of the ship *Sagamore* from Ireland," was called before the meeting "to report upon the condition of his Passengers."

Among the entries in the Town Books of Boston covering bonds of indemnity on account of "passengers imported from Ireland," given by the masters of vessels or other persons interested, are found the following: September 15, 1737, bond of £500 by Samuel Todd "for Passengers from Ireland in the Brigantine *Elizabeth*";

¹⁶ Political exiles.

November 8, 1737, bond of £600 by Captain James Finney and others "on account of 162 Passengers imported by the said Finney in the snow *Charming Molly* from Ireland"; December 3, 1738, bond of £500 by Captain Nathaniel Montgomery "on account of 82 Passengers imported in the ship *Eagle* from Ireland"; May 29, 1739, bond of £250 by Captain Ephraim Jackson "on account of 42 Passengers imported in the ship *Barwick* from Ireland," and on October 7, 1741, Captains John Seymour and William Palmer were notified "to appear and give Bonds to the Town Treasurer for the Passengers they have imported from Ireland." In view of these constant Irish immigrations to Massachusetts, we can understand why "several Gentlemen, Merchants and others of the Irish Nation residing in Boston" met on Saint Patrick's Day, 1737, and founded the Charitable Irish Society, "from an Affectionate and Compassionate Concern for their Countrymen in these parts who may be reduced by Sickness, Shipwreck, Old Age, and other Infirmities and unforeseen Accidents,"¹⁷ etc.

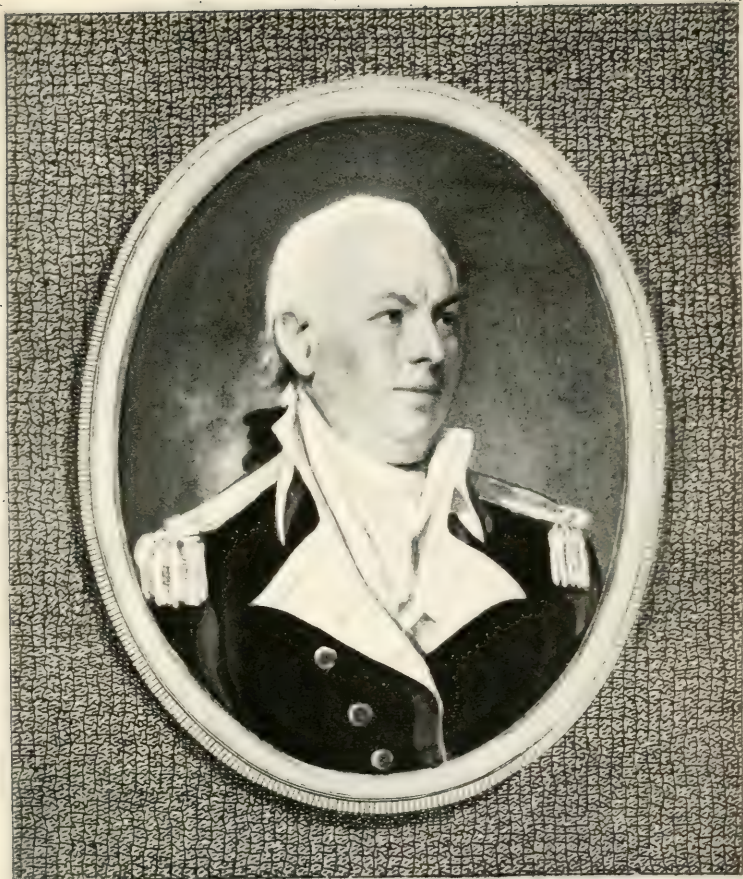
Under the head of "Port Arrivals—Immigrants" in the Town Books, a large number of Irish names are recorded between the years 1762 and 1769. "Captain Daniel McCarthy, Master of the ship *Sally* from Kinsale in Ireland," appeared before the selectmen on May 21, 1763, and "reported on his passengers" before they were allowed to land, and on May 30, 1764, the record says that "Captain William Clouston of the Brigantine *Hound* appeared and reported that he has been from Cork in Ireland in 34 days." Among the "Port Ar-

¹⁷ See published records of the society, Boston, 1876.

rivals" at Boston in the year 1762, sixty-nine Irish names are recorded; in 1764, twenty-three Irish names; in 1765, eighty-four; in 1766, 195; and in 1767, 102 Irish names. These represent the arrivals in seven vessels only, and the lists of the names embrace some of the most prominent family names in Irish nomenclature, and indicate that these immigrants came from all parts of Ireland. Where these people located, or what were their fortunes in the new country, there is no indication whatever; the Town Books simply recorded the fact of their arrival at Boston. It is my belief that all did not settle at Boston or in the province of Massachusetts, because I have noticed many instances of Irish names in the town records of places in Maine and New Hampshire which bear a remarkable resemblance to the names of some of the passengers who arrived at Boston about that time.¹⁸

In the Town Books of Boston alone there are approximately two thousand Irish names of people whose marriages were solemnized in Suffolk County, Massachusetts, during the eighteenth century, and an examination of the ancient records reproduced in the *New England Historic and Genealogical Register* would prove a veri-

¹⁸ Arthur Young, in his *Tour in Ireland* (Vol. I, p. 406; London ed., 1892), says about the emigrants whom he witnessed departing from Waterford: "The number of people who go as passengers in the Newfoundland ships is amazing. From sixty to eighty ships and from 3,000 to 5,000 annually. They come from most parts of Ireland, from Corke, Kerry, etc." New England records, especially those of the District of Maine, show that many of these people eventually found their way to that territory, where they settled permanently.



REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

JOHN BARRY

FATHER OF THE AMERICAN NAVY, BORN IN COUNTY WEXFORD, IRELAND.

table surprise to those who assume that this section of the country was settled solely by English Colonists. The Massachusetts Probate and Land Records are also replete with Irish names, showing that many of the Irish immigrants and their descendants were numbered among the substantial business men of various New England communities.

Readers will probably obtain a better idea of the class of Irish people who settled in New England from a list of prominent Irish surnames which appear in the eighteenth century records published in the *Annual Register* of the New England Historic and Genealogical Society. Among these names, with the number of times each is mentioned in the indices to these records, are the following:¹⁹

Barry	158	Cummings	292	Flaherty	4
Boyle	53	Dalton	110	Flynn, Flyng .	20
Brady	17	Daly	26	Foley	24
Brien, Brian,		Delany	6	Gallagher	5
Bryan	64	Dillon	9	Gilmore	68
Burke, Bourke .	138	Donohue	7	Gilpatrick	18
Carroll	88	Donovan	6	Gleason	114
Casey	29	Duane	53	Glynn	11
Cogan, Coggan	110	Duley	10	Gorman	7
Conner, Connor,		Dunn	73	Healy, Haley .	240
Connors	92	Dwyer	5	Higgins	160
Corbett	63	Farrell, Farrelly	14	Hogan	8
Corcoran	25	Fitzgerald	64	Hurley	5
Crehore	85	Gerrald	16	Joyce	42
Crowley	18	Fitzpatrick ...	9		

¹⁹ Besides the "O" names listed, there were persons named O'Cahan, O'Doherty, O'Byrne, O'Callaghan, O'Donoghue, O'Donovan, O'Dwyer, O'Grady, O'Keeffe, O'Leary, O'Riordan, O'Shaw, and O'Shaughnessy.

Kane, Kaine,		McFadden	18	O'Carroll	4
Cane, McKane	153	McGinnis	11	O'Connell	12
Kearney, Carney	19	McGowan	15	O'Connor	23
Keating	16	McGrath,		O'Donnell	26
Keiley, Keeley .	10	McGraw	21	O'Flaherty	3
Kelly, Kelley .	202	McKenna,		O'Hanlon	3
Kennedy	110	McKenny....	50	O'Hara	8
Kenney	86	McLaughlin ...	20	O'Kelley	7
Larkin	157	McMahon	17	O'Neill	32
Leary, Lary,		McNeill	58	O'Reilly	14
Larey	38	McSweeney ...	10	O'Rourke	5
Lawler, Lawless	17	Madden	29	O'Sullivan	43
Logan	86	Mahon, Mahony,		O'Toole	5
Lynch	48	Mahoone ...	23	Power, Powers.	150
McBride	13	Malone	67	Prendergast ..	22
McCarthy	85	Maloney	10	Quigley	7
McClary	40	Mooney	10	Quinn	7
McConnehe ...	20	Mullins	45	Reilly, Riley ..	226
McCormack ...	8	Murphy	82	Ryan	19
McDonnell	19	Nolen	10	Sullivan	280
McDonald	52	O'Brien	48	Walsh	36
McDaniel	31	O'Bryne	3		

These names furnish a striking exhibit of the racial character of the Irish who settled in New England, and yet this list is far from being complete, for it would almost seem that there is hardly an Irish name of any prominence that does not appear at some time or other in New England records, as well as a great many Irish people with non-Irish names, such as those alluded to in Chapter VIII. Besides, I have excluded from this category many of the "Mac" names and also such as Blake, Barrett, Boyce, Butler, Buckley, Carey, Clarke, Cochran, Collins, Cunningham, Dexter, Field, Ford, Fox, Gill, Garrett, Gibbons, Greeley, Griffin, Harrington, Hart, Hayes, Holland, Hughes, Jennings, Moore, Man-

ning, Mitchell, Neale, Reynolds, and many similar names; for although these names have been very common among the Irish for centuries and most of them are from Gaelic derivatives, yet it is also possible that some of these people may have been of English, Welsh, or Scotch descent. At the same time, however, I may say that I have determined positively that some of those I have omitted were Irish. The name Butler, for example, is listed 876 times in the records from which I am quoting, and I have found family histories showing that many of the New England Butlers were descendants from Irish immigrants who came from Waterford and Kilkenny. Most of the Dexter families in Massachusetts are descended from Richard Dexter, who came from Ireland to Boston in 1642, and he was a descendant of a de Exeter who migrated to Ireland from France in the Norman invasion of 1172; so that we see the Dexters were in Ireland for 470 years before the first of the family came to America. Some of the Massachusetts Fields were descendants of Darby Field, an Irishman and a noted personage in New England history; some of the Massachusetts Blakes, I find, are of the old Galway family of that name, and some of the Neales were descended from an Irishman named Neale, who accompanied Darby Field in his discovery of the White Mountains in New Hampshire in the year 1643.²⁰ So that, while there may be a partial offset in some of the names that possibly should not be listed under the head of "Irish," I would be justified in including as "Irish" a

²⁰ *Journal of Governor John Winthrop.*

certain proportion of those omitted, who, in the aggregate, numbered many thousands.

Readers should not understand that the numbers shown in this list constitute the total number of people so named and mentioned in New England records, and in considering the list they should keep in mind the fact that I am now quoting from records brought out by only *one* of the historical societies. For instance, in the foregoing list will be noted forty-eight O'Briens, this number being all of the name who are mentioned in the particular records referred to; but as there are eighty-five O'Briens listed among the *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolutionary War*, we can well imagine that there must have been several hundred of the name from which this number of soldiers was drawn; and it is probable that the New England progeny of one Irishman of the name alone, Morris O'Brien of Machias, who had six sons and three daughters, all of whom married, numbered not less than 250 persons at the close of the eighteenth century. Opposite Kearney or Carney will be noted the figure 19, as representing all of that name mentioned in the particular records referred to. Now, one Irishman alone, Mark Carney, who, according to the inscription on his tombstone at Dresden, Maine, "Died [in 1782] defending his country for liberty,"²¹ was the father of thirteen children, and his eldest son, Daniel Carney of Boston, was the father of

²¹ Mark Carney emigrated from Ireland (probably from Kilkenny) to Pownalborough, Maine, about the year 1759. He was a brave soldier of the Revolution. For an account of his career, see *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, Vol. XIV.

twenty-two children, and the genealogy of the Carney family indicates that at the close of the eighteenth century there were several hundred descendants of Mark Carney in New England. So that the foregoing list obviously is far short of the total number of such names that are mentioned in the records. ²²

²² This list of approximately one hundred Irish names shows that the average number of times each is mentioned in the records from which they are taken is fifty. It must be said, however, that it is very difficult, and in some instances impossible, to determine, in the case of a certain given name appearing more than once, whether the same or different persons are referred to, and there can be no doubt that in some cases, when making up the foregoing tabulation, the same person's name was counted several times. But the illustrations of the cases of the names O'Brien and Carney and the many similar ones that can be pointed out show that these repetitions are more than offset by the omissions, and it is clear that the list falls far short of the total number of people of the names selected who were in New England prior to the opening of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER XIX

EARLY IRISH SETTLERS IN VIRGINIA

Irish in Virginia before the arrival of the *Mayflower*. Their names from Hotten's "Original Lists." The Shenandoah Valley first settled by Irish immigrants. Numerous Gaelic names on the rosters of the Virginia Militia. The Colonial Records a vast storehouse of information. Prominent Irish families in Virginia. Daniel Carroll's letter to Washington on Irish immigration.

THE records of the Southern States are a mine of historical wealth concerning the pioneer settlers, and while they appear to have been carefully scanned by writers of general history and much of their contents has been given to the public, none have interested themselves particularly in the story of the Irish pioneers of that territory which lies buried in these musty volumes. In Virginia, for instance, much of the material for this story can be found in the County Records,¹ the Land and Probate Records, and the Parish Registers of the old churches, especially in the counties bordering on the James, York, Potomac, and Rappahannock rivers, copies of all of which are accessible, some at the State Library and the various offices of the Commonwealth at Richmond, others in the possession of the county clerks and the registrars of wills and deeds, while still

¹ The County Records of Virginia, collected by Crozier, have been published by the Virginia Historical Society.

others are under the care of the churchwardens and other custodians of old records. Nothing is left to the imagination, and there is such an abundance of material at hand on the subject that there does not seem to be a particle of excuse for the complaint that "the Irish have been kept out of history," for there has been every opportunity to fill the void.

The fact that Virginia received a large infusion of Irish blood from a very early period is indisputable, and, according to the most dependable records, approximately three hundred years have elapsed since the first Irishman appeared in Virginia, which was before the arrival of the Pilgrims of the *Mayflower*. Neill² refers to a book presented "at a Court held for Virginia on December 19, 1621," by an English Puritan minister named John Brinsley, which the author explained was "adapted for all functions and places, and more particularly to every ruder place, and more especially to that poor Irish nation with our loving countrymen in Virginia." In the same work, Neill quotes a sermon delivered in London in the year 1622 by Rev. Patrick Copland of Barbadoes Island, afterward the first President of the College of Virginia, in which he referred to "eight hundred persons who had been transported out of England and Ireland for the plantations of Virginia," and in an explanatory note Neill remarks that "Ireland has always been a hive from which America has derived sturdy hewers of wood to subdue the forests."

² *History of the English Colonization in America.*

The Virginia records show that an Irish colony was brought from Cork in the *Flying Harte* in the year 1621 by Sir William Newce and located at what is now Newport News, and some few years later "Daniel Gookin of Carrigoline, County Cork," transported to Virginia "great multitudes of people and cattle from Ireland and England." In Hotten's *Original Lists*³ are enumerated the names of many persons, the ships in which they sailed, the dates of their arrival in the colony, and other data, and among the names we find such as Murfie, MacBrian, Riley, Cassedy, Carroll, Connor, Dunn, Earley, Higgins, Moore, Hayes, Mortagh, Burke, Barrett, Barron, Mallon, Garrett, McConry, Plunkett, Conway, Piggot, McCarty, Sexton, Collins, Straughan, Daly, Hickey, Courtney, Gill, Dermot, Maddin, O'Mullin, Coggin, Haly, Creede, Lennon, Farrell, Manning, Butler, Connelly, Flynn, Cullen, Hoban, Gibbons, Welsh, and Joyce; and when we find in these lists such names as Desmond O'Bryan, Dennis and Owen McCartie, Patrick Conly, Patrick Connyer, Patrick Breddy, Patrick Ward, Darby Hurlie, Bryan McGawyn, Dennis Hugin, Brian Kelly, Michael Foley, Teague Nacton or Naughton, Teague Quillin, Donough Garvie, and the like, it needs no stretch of the imagination to conclude what was the country of their nativity. All of these came

³ The *Original Lists of Persons of Quality, Emigrants, Religious Exiles, Political Rebels, serving men sold for a term of years, apprentices, children stolen, maidens pressed, and others who went from Great Britain to the American Plantations between 1600 and 1700*; copied from manuscripts preserved in the State Paper Department of the Public Record Office of England, by John Camden Hotten; New York, 1874.

to Virginia between 1634 and 1636. Hotten also quotes from "A List of the Livinge and the Dead in Virginia on February 16, 1623," and from "A Booke of Entrie for Passengers passing beyond the Seas" in the years 1631 and 1632, and in these lists appear several Irish names. There is also a "List of what Ticquetts have been granted out of the Secretary's Office of the Island of Barbadoes for departure off this Island, beginning in January, 1678, and ending in December following," and among those who left Barbadoes for Virginia and Carolina in that year are ninety Irish names.

In a partial list of "Early Immigrants to Virginia (1623 to 1666)" collected by George Cabell Greer from the Land Office Records at Richmond,⁴ there are included more than three hundred old Irish names; while in the marriage and baptismal records and the will books of the different counties and the many historical extracts from various Virginia records reproduced in the quarterly publications of William and Mary College and in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, numerous Irish names appear, dating back to the early years of the eighteenth century and down to and beyond the period of the War of the Revolution. In the Colonial Papers of Virginia references are made to the transportation of Irish "Tories" and "convicts." For example, under date of September 24, 1653, we find the Council of State granting a license to Sir Richard Nethersole "to transport one hundred Irish Tories to

⁴ Richmond, Virginia, 1912.

Virginia," and Prendergast ⁵ gives instances from the State Papers in Dublin Castle showing the extent to which this human traffic was carried on by the English planters and adventurers.

Many of the Irish who are shown to have arrived via the Delaware River during the first half of the eighteenth century found their way to the remote settlements of western Pennsylvania and Virginia, especially in the region of the Blue Ridge Mountains and the Valley of Virginia. Between 1740 and 1770 a very large number of Irish immigrants came to Virginia, and evidently it was in the Shenandoah Valley that the bulk of them located; for in the early records of Frederick, Shenandoah, Rockingham, Albemarle, Augusta, and Rockbridge counties are to be found a great number of representative Gaelic names. ⁶ A local historian says that "previous to 1744 several immigrants from Pennsylvania, chiefly Irish, settled on the South Branch" of the Shenandoah River, and that "the earliest settlers on the upper waters of the Opequon were a mixture of Irish and Germans." ⁷ In 1763 another Irish contingent came to the same neighborhood, who, he intimates, were Cath-

⁵ John P. Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, pp. 244-6; New York, 1868.

⁶ These names, as well as interesting accounts of many of the individual settlers, written by people acquainted with local history and traditions, may be found in such works as the *History of the Lower Shenandoah Valley*, by J. E. Norris; the *History of Albemarle County*, by Rev. Edgar Woods; the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, and the *West Virginia Magazine of History*.

⁷ Samuel Kercheval, *History of the Valley of Virginia*, p. 46; Woodstock, Va., 1850.

olics; for he says that "the Irish, like the Germans, brought with them the religion, customs, and habits of their ancestors, and the Irish wedding was always the occasion of great hilarity, jollity, and mirth."⁸ While the local historian fails to give the names of all these settlers, he mentions enough of them to indicate that they must have come from all parts of Ireland. William McMahon he mentions as a "Justice of the first Court which sat in Frederick County in 1743," and among the pioneer lawyers of the county in 1745 were Michael Quinn and John Ryan. There were so many Irish at Winchester a short time before the Revolution that they used to celebrate regularly the national festival of Ireland, and some amusing incidents are related in local history of the "disorders" that occurred "when the Dutch exhibited effigies of Saint Patrick and ridiculed the feast."⁹

We are told that "the foremost man in Augusta County during its early settlement was James Patton, who was a native of Newton-Limavaddy, Ireland, where he was born in 1692. As a master and owner of a merchant vessel, he brought many settlers to Virginia";¹⁰ and in the *Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia*,¹¹ he is thus referred to: "Colonel James Patton entered into the American trade to Hobbes's Hole, Virginia, on the Rapahannock River. Said to have crossed the Atlantic

⁸ Samuel Kercheval, *History of the Valley of Virginia*, p. 46.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

¹⁰ *County Records of Virginia*, Vols. XIII and XVI.

¹¹ Vol. I, published by the Virginia Historical Society.

twenty-five times to bring Irish emigrants [redemptioners] who served a given time to pay the cost of their transportation. Augusta County, in which he received a grant of 120,000 acres of land, was largely settled through his agency."

On the roster of Augusta County militia in 1742 there are seventy-two Irish names, and among the officers of the Virginia Regiment commanded by Colonel George Washington in 1754 I note such names as Gorman, Barrett, McCarty, Doran, McRoy, Conway, McAnnulty, Hogan, and Murphy, and on the roster of its enlisted men there are sixty-nine Irish names.¹² In a body of "Militia from Augusta County who fought in the French and Indian Wars" there are 115 Irish names, and, as an illustration of its racial composition, I find one company—the only one where the nationality of the men is given—comprising a total of twenty-nine men, fourteen of whom are recorded as born in Ireland, seven in England, three in Virginia, two each in Scotland and Pennsylvania, and one in Maryland. The captain of the company was Andrew Lewis, a native of County Donegal, who afterward achieved fame as commander of Virginia troops at the battle of Point Pleasant in 1774. In Augusta County companies commanded by Captains William Cocke, Christopher Gist, and Henry Woodward, in 1756, twenty-five per cent. of the men were natives of Ireland, and in "Colonel Washington's own Company" twenty-eight per cent. gave Ireland as their birthplace. In all, ninety-five of the enlisted men

¹² *Miscellaneous Records of Virginia*, Vol. II.



REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

GENERAL ANDREW LEWIS

OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY, BORN IN DONEGAL, IRELAND.
FROM A STATUE AT RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

from Augusta County in that year are recorded as natives of Ireland, in addition to a number of others bearing Irish names, mostly natives of Pennsylvania and Virginia.¹³

In the muster-rolls of Virginia militia defending the frontier during "Lord Dunmore's War" in 1774 there are 159 Irish names. In the Land Bounty Certificates a large number of "militiamen who received land grants for participation in the wars of the Colony of Virginia" are mentioned, and among them there are, in all, 239 Irish names. In miscellaneous lists, such as land owners, testators, legatees, witnesses, court files, etc., which appear in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, there are 155 Irish names. In lists of marriages solemnized in Norfolk and Princess Ann counties, of "slave owners in Princess Ann County," and of tithables and property owners between 1751 and 1800, there are 138 Irish names;¹⁴ in lists of persons who obtained "head rights" to lands in Orange County between 1735 and 1756, taken from the records of the County and Circuit Courts, there are 85 Irish names. In all, there are 340 persons included in these Orange County lists, almost all stated to be "from Great Britain and Ireland," though in some cases "Ireland" alone is given as the country whence they emigrated.¹⁵ To Albemarle County the Irish came early, and one of the first recorded surveys of a tract of land in that vicinity was made in 1745 for one

¹³ *Miscellaneous Records of Virginia*, Vol. II.

¹⁴ *Vital Records* reproduced in *Lower Norfolk County Antiquarian*.

¹⁵ See W. W. Scott's *History of Orange County, Virginia*.

Dennis Doyle, in a rich and beautiful valley on Moorman's River at a place now known as Doylestown. Here we find families named Murphy, Lynch, Kelly, Dunaven, McCann, McCue, and McClanahan; and when the citizens of Albemarle signed their "Declaration of Independence"¹⁶ on the 21st of April, 1779, among its signatories were men named Flanagan, Mullins, Hayes, Carroll, Tandy, Collins, Fitzpatrick, McGhee, McManus, and Sullivan.¹⁷ Attention is called to these stray facts merely to show what a vast amount of information is contained in the Colonial Records that have been published either by the State or by the Virginia Historical Society, from which the material necessary for the compilation of the story of Irish endeavor in that section of the country may be readily obtained.

That the people of Virginia are a very much mixed race may be seen from Bishop Meade's references to the character of the population at the time of the outbreak of the Revolution, where he remarks that "numbers of Virginia families have their genealogical trees or traditionary records by which they can trace their line to the most ancient families in England, Ireland, Scotland, and the Huguenots of France."¹⁸ Among the prominent Virginia families of Irish descent are included the McCartys, Lynches, Meades, Prestons, Lewises,

¹⁶ The original document is still preserved by the Virginia Historical Society at Richmond.

¹⁷ Rev. Edgar Woods, *History of Albemarle County, Virginia*.

¹⁸ *Old Churches and Families in Virginia*, by Bishop William H. Meade.

Sullivans, McCormicks, McElroys, O'Neills, McGuires, McDonnells, and Farrells, who "held their own" with their Anglo-Saxon neighbors, and some of whom are mentioned in Virginia history with almost the same prominence as the descendants of the "Cavaliers."

It is with considerable interest that we read of the relationships which have existed for generations between descendants of Irish settlers and the "Cavalier" families. For instance, the McCartys of Virginia were on very intimate social relations with the Washington family, and were intermarried into such leading families as the Balls, Fitzhughs, Lees, and others of equal prominence in Virginia; and Ann McCarty, daughter of Dennis McCarty, of Westmoreland County, Virginia, was a cousin of Mary Ball, the mother of George Washington. A record of the marriage of Dennis McCarty and Sarah Ball, under date of September 22, 1724, appears in the parish register of Cople Parish, Westmoreland County. Sarah Ball was the daughter of Colonel William Ball, brother of Joseph, the father of Mary Ball. The latter married Augustine Washington, father of George Washington, so that the exact relationship between Mary Ball Washington and Ann McCarty was that of second cousin.¹⁹ Dennis McCarty was a son of Daniel McCarty, who, with his brother Dennis, was exiled from Ireland in 1690 after

¹⁹ See *Ball Genealogy*; also *Virginia Genealogies*, by Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden. For further particulars of the McCartys see *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society* for April, 1916, pp. 118-121.

their estates had been confiscated by the crown. They settled at Kinsale, Westmoreland County.²⁰

Bishop Meade enumerates several Irishmen among the early Episcopal clergy in Virginia, and according to the names of the members of their congregations it is very evident that many Irish Catholic families joined the Protestant Episcopal Church, and their descendants have since remained firm adherents of the various Protestant denominations. It is chiefly for this reason that so many American historians have fallen into the error of saying that these people could not have been of the old Gaelic race, and because they were Protestants and Presbyterians they are usually designated by the racial misnomer, "Scotch-Irish."²¹

In a "Catalogue of Revolutionary Soldiers and Sailors of the Commonwealth of Virginia to whom Land

²⁰ One of the ancestral seats of the McCarthys was at Kinsale, Ireland.

²¹ On a recent occasion, in the genealogical department of the New York Public Library, I was asked by a gentleman named Meade "as to how he could trace his line," and was told by him that he is "descended from a Scotch-Irishman named Andrew Meade who emigrated from the North of Ireland sometime in the eighteenth century." I was happy in being able to inform him where to find the information, but he was astonished to learn that Andrew Meade was a Catholic Irishman from County Kerry, whom Bishop Meade (one of his descendants) says in his *Old Churches and Families in Virginia*, came over in the year 1745. Another instance is that of a newspaper article I wrote on the McCartys of Virginia, descendants of Charles and Owen McCarty, who came to the colony in 1635. A copy of it reached a lady of that name in West Virginia, and she wrote me saying that she is a descendant of one of the McCartys whom I mentioned, but that she "had always understood the family was Scotch-Irish"!

Bounty warrants were granted by Virginia for Military Services in the War for Independence,"²² 388 Irish names are included. All of these were attached to Virginia regiments of the Line, and, as showing that the services rendered by some of the officers were important, I find that 10,753 acres were allotted to Major William Croghan, 5333 to Major John Fitzgerald, 5000 to Major Charles Magill, 4666 to Captain John Fitzgerald, 4000 each to Captains Benjamin Casey, Martin Haley, "Thadey" Kelly, John Kearney, John Kennon, John McIlhany, William Barrett, Robert Higgins, Charles Gallahue, John Larty, John Kilty, Richard McCarty, Ferdinand O'Neil, John Shields, and Patrick Wright, and 2666 acres each to Lieutenants Christopher Brady, Joseph Conway, Robert Power, Luke Cannon, Edward Conner, Peter Higgins, Timothy Feeley, Pierce Nowlan, and William McGuire.

Much of the immigration that came in via Philadelphia a short time before the Revolution was intended for other parts of the Colonies besides Pennsylvania, and many Irish immigrants found their way to the Valley of Virginia and some passed on to the settlements on the Ohio and through the Carolinas. Among the *Letters to Washington* now in the Archives of the State Department there is an interesting letter to him from Daniel Carroll, brother of the Bishop of Baltimore, dated September 1, 1773, in relation to a number of Irish families who had arrived about that time and who later located

²² Compiled from official records in the State Land Office at Frankfort, Kentucky, and published by the Virginia Historical Society.

in Frederick County, Virginia, and in the present State of West Virginia. This letter indicates that these people came from the province of Connacht and were of the farming class, able to pay their own way, and that they brought with them some necessary equipment to enable them to begin the cultivation of land. The letter is as follows:

"In the Winter 1771 I received a letter from a Mercht of my acquaintance in Galway in Ireland, strongly recommending some Irish families who had embarked for America. These poor people, finding they cou'd not live under the exactions of their landlord, on their leases falling resolved to venture into this part of the world, were able to pay their passages, and bring with them some family goods and working utensils. Besides the particular and strong recommendation I received, they will shew you the testimony given in their favor by the Mayor and principal inhabitants of Galway. They have had house room and firing on my land since their arrival. The men have worked abroad and by their Conduct justified the recommendations given of them, and I am certain will be of Singular Service wherever they settle, particularly in working meadows, to which they have been chiefly accustom'd.

"This much in justice to these poor people, I have thought proper to say, as they have an intention of treating with you about some of your back land. Three of these men have been as far back as Buffaloe land over the Monongahela. Upon their report, they had all concluded to move with their families and occupy lands, as many others have done, in expectation of having the refusal, when the property is ascertained; but on seeing your advertisement, I adviz'd them to wait on you, and know your terms. I have reason to expect, if these people settle themselves to their Satisfaction, a very considerable number of their relations will be soon with them, who are now only waiting to hear from them. It would not, I apprehend, be bad policy in those who may possess large bodys or tracts of land to lay out a Glebe for a Clergyman. This would have considerable weight with many Irish Roman Catholicks, who would probably bring their own Clergyman with them. I intended

myself taking a trip into these new Countries, as they are call'd, and purchasing some land if the terms and title were agreeable, in hopes of making it turn to advantage, as my connections in Ireland enable me to procure a number of very industrious settlers, and among them some of property with whom I correspond. I have lately received a letter dated New York, July 26th, from Mr. Foxcroft, one of the 72 intended proprietors, by which I find the Charter was not then obtained. Shou'd matters be settled time enough this fall, I shall putt my resolution into execution, and if you intend to make an excursion that way, shall be glad to attend you; and am, Sir, with esteem

"yr most Obt. Servt.

"DANIEL CARROLL." ²³

Daniel Carroll, like other wealthy men of that day, was a large holder of uncultivated lands in Virginia, and this letter indicates that he was interested in the colonization of Irish people on these lands, as was his more famous cousin, Charles Carroll of Carrollton. In Burton's *Life of Bishop Challoner of London*,²⁴ the author says: "There had been many thousand handbills distributed in Ireland at the instigation of a Mr. Charles Carroll, a Roman Catholic, of the Congress of America, promising every individual that would emigrate to America a proportional quantity of land according to his birth and station in life, with full toleration; and that no religious tenets should be any hindrance to any preferment."

²³ See *Letters to Washington*, edited by Stanislaus M. Hamilton and published by the Society of Colonial Dames in America, Vol. IV, pp. 256-257; Boston and New York, 1901.

²⁴ Vol. II, p. 193.

CHAPTER XX

MORE LIGHT ON THE "SCOTCH-IRISH" MYTH

The Diaries of the Moravian Missionaries. No mention of "Scotch-Irish" in official records. The Land Records of Maryland. The early settlements of New Munster, New Leinster, and New Connaught. The County of New Ireland. Irish immigrants to Maryland immediately before the outbreak of the Revolution. The *Maryland Archives*.

FROM various authentic sources we obtain ideas of the extent of these Irish settlements. For example, in the archives of the Moravian Church at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, there are preserved the original diaries of two Moravian missionaries named Revs. Leonard Schnell and Robert Husse, who made a journey from Virginia to Georgia, beginning in November, 1743, and ending in April, 1744. In their travels they "preached the Gospel to the German settlers of whatever denomination," and in their accounts of meetings with the settlers they mention Irish people. One of them wrote: "I asked Jost Hite for the way to Carolina. He told me of one which runs for one hundred and fifty miles through Irish settlements, the district being known as the Irish Tract." In 1753, they again journeyed through the South, and we find these entries in their Diaries: "October 13, 1753, we passed a little Town called Carl Isles,¹ consisting of about sixty houses

¹ Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

and inhabited mostly by Irishmen. On October 16, about four o'clock, we continued on our journey. On the way we bought ten bushels of oats from an Irishman, and after we travelled three miles farther we breakfasted at a little creek where Irish people have settled. . . . October 24, 1753, three miles farther we came to Augusta Court House [Virginia], a little town of about twenty houses surrounded by mountains on all sides. This whole district is settled by Irish and English people." And in referring to what is now Lexington, Virginia, they said: "It is settled mostly by English and Irish people."² All through their Diaries they mention individual Irishmen whom they met on their journey, but not once is any reference made to that *rara avis in terris*, a "Scotch-Irishman."

Nor can we find in the official records any reference to the "Scotch-Irish," for in all written documents of the Colonial period, where the immigrants from Ireland are mentioned at all, they are referred to invariably by their proper racial designation. In this matter of the so-called "Scotch-Irish" race, the position assumed by some of our historians is absolutely untenable, as a concise résumé of the historic facts readily demonstrates. In the year 1611, or thereabouts, the "Plantation of Ulster" began by the peopling of a large section of that province with Scotch and English colonists. Although we are told, chiefly by American historians, who, unfortunately for their reputations, have relied upon histor-

² From the English translation of the *Diaries of Rev. Leonhard Schnell and Rev. Robert Husse*, by Rev. William J. Hinke, a noted historian of the Germans of Pennsylvania and Virginia.

ical myths for their "facts," that "by the middle of the seventeenth century there were three hundred thousand of them in Ulster,"³ the well-known and far more reliable English statistician, Sir William Petty, estimated that in 1659 the population of Ulster was: "Irish, 63,350; English, Scotch, and other aliens, 40,571; a total of 103,921"; from which we see the utter falsity of the statement above quoted. The same historian (Fiske) who is responsible for this egregious assertion states that "between 1730 and 1770 it is probable that at least half a million [meaning the "Scotch-Irish"] were transferred from Ulster to the American colonies," evidently without investigating the facts or ascertaining the points of departure or the racial composition of the emigrants who left Ireland during that period. It would be ridiculous to assume that the forty thousand "English, Scotch, and other aliens" of Ulster in the middle of the seventeenth century could have produced such a racial change in the predominant element in that province, within the space of a century, that the entire population became "Scotch-Irish"; that the strong, virile, old Irish families of Ulster had all vanished before the exodus to America had begun! Yet that is what such historians practically claim.

It requires some more tangible historic evidence than the prejudices of certain self-styled ethnologists to make these people other than what they were; for although it is true that several thousand Scotchmen settled in Ireland in the seventeenth century, they were far too few

³ John Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, Vol. II, p. 301.

to effect such a racial change. Lecky says: "No feature of Irish history is more conspicuous than the rapidity with which intermarriages had altered the character of successive generations of English colonists. . . . The conquest of Ireland by the Puritan soldiers of Cromwell was hardly more signal than the conquest of these soldiers by the invincible Catholicism of the Irish women." The Scotch were not more immune than the English colonists to the charms of the Irish maidens, for responsible antiquarians have shown that many of the descendants of the Scotch colonists intermarried with the native Irish. In Ireland the term "Ulsterman" is commonly used in referring to a native of the northern counties, just as "Munsterman" is used to describe a native of the southern counties, but the term "Scotch-Irish" is altogether unknown there. There is no more reason for calling the Irish-born descendants of these people "Scotch-Irish" than there would be for naming the American descendants of the Huguenots "French-Americans," or the descendants of the Hollanders "Dutch-Americans." Yet we never hear of these hyphenated racial designations, for the good reason that the American descendants of the French and Dutch immigrants are plain, every-day "Americans." And, by the same logic, the Irish-born descendants of the Scotchmen who came into Ireland are plain, every-day "Irishmen."

So feverish have been the efforts to discredit the plain "Irish" and to deny them the slightest credit for what they may have contributed to America in the pioneer days, that we find historians describing as "Scotch-

Irish" persons bearing such names as Sullivan, Murphy, McCarthy, O'Kane, Molloy, McGuire, FitzGerald, Donovan, McGinnis, McKeown, McMahon, McSherry,⁴ and numerous others so named. And all because these people reached prominent places in American life or because their American descendants were of the Protestant faith.⁵ The "Scotch-Irish" boast of their patriotism in the Revolutionary War, but on that point they should acquaint themselves with the expressed opinions of Washington and other officers of the Revolutionary forces, for the record of the Scotch in the Revolution shows them to have been practically unanimous against the Colonists. If, then, the "Scotch-Irish" did not get their devotion to the principles of liberty, as exemplified in the Revolution, from the Scotch, where else did they get it but from the Irish part of the hyphen? We know

⁴ These are actual cases of surnames of Irish settlers who became prominent in various American communities and whom historians describe as "Scotch-Irish."

⁵ One of these historians furnishes "the names of the following Scotch-Irishmen, taken from a list of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the Illinois Regiment and the Western Army under the command of General George Rogers Clark in 1778." (From *The Scotch-Irish*, by Charles A. Hanna, Vol. I, p. 53; New York, 1902.) Among these names he includes:

Patrick Conroy	Dennis Coheron	Lazarus Ryan
William Barry	John Doyle	Patrick Riley
Thomas Connolly	Patrick Maher	Hugh Logan
George Burke	John McGann	John McGuire
John Murphy	Richard McCarty	Francis McDermot
William Munroney	Barney Higgins	Patrick McClure
Sylvester Munroney	Peter Loughlin	James McMullen
Edward Cockran	John Lyons	
George Cockran	Andrew Ryan	

that Jefferson's original draft of the Declaration of Independence arraigned the British government for sending "Scotch mercenaries" among us, but that this was eliminated out of respect for John Witherspoon. The Scotch in the Mohawk Valley were Tories, and their countrymen who settled along the Cape Fear River were nearly all active Tory partisans; the descendants of those who came over after the defeat of Culoden were Tories, and the "Scotch Regulators" who followed Ferguson to death at King's Mountain and in the border warfare in the Virginia valleys were of the same race. When will the Scotch element in American history stand on their own record, and not lean so heavily for support on the Irish?

The phrase, "Scotch-Irish," has been a favorite locution with some American historians, unwilling, because of their inborn prejudices, to accept the true facts, ethnological or historical, with regard to the Irish immigrants and their descendants. They divide them in two parts and have sought to picture the mere "Irish" part of them as a common type of inferior origin and the "Scotch-Irish" as so far above them in intellect and importance as to necessitate placing them in a class by themselves. The attempt has not been quite as successful as they wished for, because the names entered in the American records stand out as too obvious a refutation of the slander to be effectually concealed, but their paramount desire is, by a series of spurious arguments, to create the impression that if any of the early immigrants from Ireland exhibited the slightest traces of those qualities that are usually regarded as commendable in a

human being, they received them as a matter of course from the "Scotch" end of the hyphen! They are unable to explain the "Scotch"-Irishism of the Carrolls, Sullivans, Fitzgeralds, Moylans and others of that stamp, but, being obsessed with the idea that such men could *not* be of the Irish race, from the very fact that they achieved prominence in American life, they simply go ahead and claim them as "Scotch-Irish" anyway, regardless altogether of what intelligent people may believe!

This anti-Irish propaganda is in evidence even to the present day and a striking instance of this is the case of the lately deceased Mayor of the City of New York, John Purroy Mitchel, who has been described in the newspapers as "descended from a long line of rigid Scotch-Irish Presbyterians," and to this one writer attributes "Mr. Mitchel's great success and fine, manly qualities." They don't know—or, if they do, they prefer to ignore it—that the Mitchels are descended from the Irish family of O'Mulvihill, or, as it is spelled in Irish, *O'Maolmicheille*, old as the rocks surrounding the harbor of their native Newry.⁶ And for that fact we have no less an authority than the grandfather of the late Mayor, John Mitchel, the famous Irish patriot of the last century, who gloried in his descent from so ancient a family.

"Scotch-Irish," therefore, in the minds of these historians, connotes the racial superiority of the aristocracy, but by "Irish" is implied the inferiority of the bourgeois! The bogus race distinction that has been

⁶ See *Irish Pedigrees* by John O'Hart, Vol. I, p. 586. Also Geoffrey Keating's *History of Ireland* (Topographical Index in John O'Mahony's translation), p. 727.

manufactured for the Irish immigrants, especially those from the Province of Ulster, is a field that has been occupied by many American writers. Each self-styled "authority" simply repeats what his predecessors have had to say on the subject, to be echoed in turn by his successors. It is difficult to determine who it was that discovered the "Scotch-Irish race." As already stated, the term is altogether unknown in Ireland and its earliest use in this country seems to have been about thirty-five years before the Revolution and then only as a term of opprobrium and contempt! The late Martin I. J. Griffin, the Philadelphia historian, than whom there was no better authority, informed me that according to a newspaper account the term was first used in Philadelphia in 1740 by an Irish merchant of that City. According to Griffin, it appears that at a merchants' club in the "Quaker City" an Irish member was taunted by a fellow-member by a sarcastic reference to the fact that "an Irish Paddy" was the first person to be convicted under a then recent Pennsylvania statute. The Irishman could not deny it, but, mortified at the taunt, he petulantly exclaimed: "Yes, but he was only a *Scotch* Irishman," laying particular emphasis on the prefix and showing by the tone of his voice the utter scorn and contempt in which the criminal was held by his countrymen! In 1757, we find the term again used in Pennsylvania, when an alleged "Popish plot" was reported in England as existing in that province. Little credence was given to the information and, in attempting to discover who gave it, it was suspected that it was "some one of no account, some Scotch Irishman"! When the

Charitable Irish Society was founded at Boston in 1737 a "Scots Charitable Society" had been in existence there for several years, and when the Society of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick was organized at Philadelphia in 1771 there was then in existence "The Thistle Society," whose members were Scotchmen and were publicly known as such. Strange, the "Scotch-Irishmen" joined neither of these Scotch societies but preferred to associate themselves with their own countrymen!

The preceding remarks upon the early records of Virginia are applicable also to Maryland. At the office of the Land Commissioner for the State of Maryland at Annapolis there are on file some records of extraordinary interest to students of early American history. These records include several bound manuscript volumes entitled *The Early Settlers, 1633-1680*, containing the names of the immigrants and the years of their arrival in the province; the Certificates and Patents issued to these settlers covering their allotments of lands from the Proprietary Government, the ancient Rent Rolls of the province, and entries covering land transactions of various sorts, as well as numerous wills and deeds, some dating back to the earliest settlements of Maryland. Although the entries in these old records are now difficult to read and the paper is faded with age, yet, all things considered, they are in an excellent state of preservation.

From time to time, for some years past, I have examined these records and have extracted from them the names of several thousand Irish people who came to Maryland during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Words fail me in expressing my astonishment

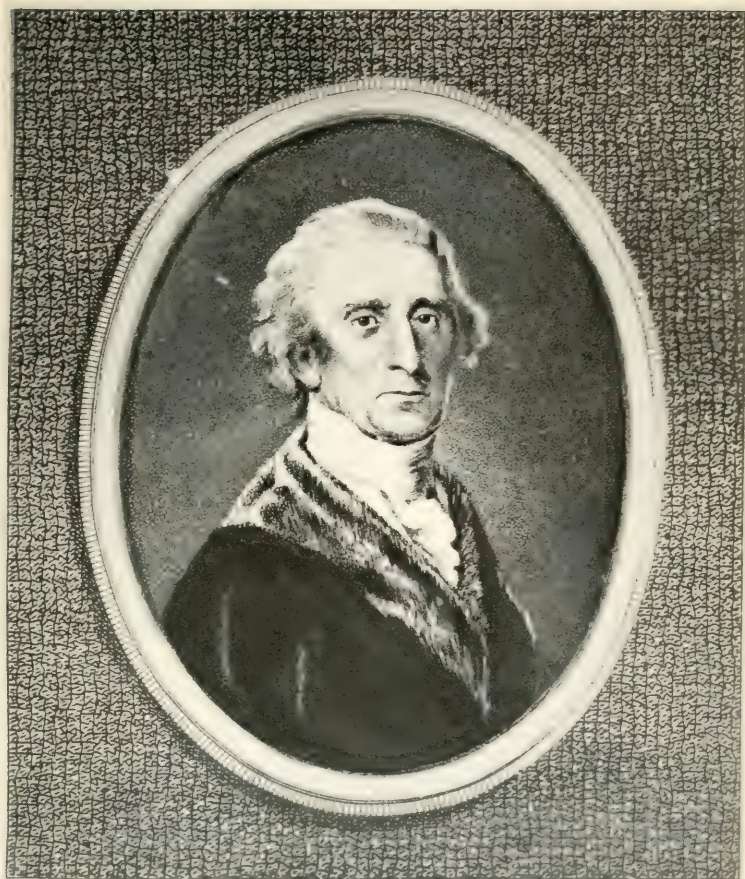
at the amount of data that is here available for a comprehensive account of the early Irish in Maryland, if some one with the time and the taste for such work would only set himself to the task of collecting and arranging this material and giving the information to the public. It is true that American historians have disregarded the mass of evidence which these records disclose relating to those Irishmen who helped to bear "the white man's burden" in Maryland in the earliest times, but it is more astonishing that the Irish themselves have so utterly ignored the importance of these valuable data, which contain the proof, beyond any question or doubt, that the Celtic element in Maryland had a hand in laying the foundations of the future State. The very existence of these records is in itself an indictment of the Irish in America, some of whom spend their time criticizing the historians who "kept us out of history," while they themselves have right in their own hands, if they would but avail themselves of it, evidence of the most irrefutable character to demolish the glorifiers of "the Anglo-Saxon founders of the Republic"!

In many cases, by the aid of the Certificates and Patents, the Rent Rolls and the Will Books, the fortunes of these people and their descendants can be traced through the successive generations; for these records show the location and extent of the land grants, the dates of the patents, the names given to these tracts, sales, mortgages, assignments, leases, and other data that are usually obtainable from land records. The nomenclature of the land grants is not the least interesting feature of these records, for it is found in numerous

instances that the Irish settlers named their plantations after the provinces, counties, cities, towns, and baronies of Ireland, and often by their family names. In Cecil and Harford counties, for example, as early as 1680 there was a tract of land one hundred miles long and eighty miles broad, called "New Ireland," and in April, 1684, I find that a proclamation was issued by Lord Baltimore giving the name of "the County of New Ireland"⁷ to this extensive section. Moreover, New Ireland was subdivided into three parts: (1) "New Connaught," a manor or plantation of eighty thousand acres, owned and patented by George Talbot, formerly of Castle Rooney, County Roscommon, who was Surveyor-General of Maryland; (2) "New Leinster," a tract of unknown extent patented by Bryan O'Daly, from Wicklow; and (3) "New Munster," patented by Edmund O'Dwyer, from Tipperary, "and other Irishmen." It is significant that there was no "New Ulster" in New Ireland!

These tracts were subdivided and sold or leased to other settlers who came over later, and among these are found many names representative of the most ancient Irish families of the provinces of Connacht, Munster, and Leinster. In New Munster and vicinity, between 1680 and 1696, there were farms of land patented and recorded under such names as Bandon, Fethard, Clonmel, Bantry, Cork, Youghal, Galway, Waterford, Birr, Limerick, Clare, Mallow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Belfast, Antrim, Dublin, Tralee, Raphoe, Cavan, Donegal, Letter-

⁷ *Council Journals of Maryland.*



REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

CHARLES CARROLL

SIGNER OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, GRANDSON OF
CHARLES O'CARROLL, A NATIVE OF KINGS COUNTY, IRELAND.

kenny, Sligo, and so on, owned for the most part by people bearing names at once indicative of their racial origin. Some of these people also followed the old Irish system of name-making; Clouncous,⁸ Crossayle, and Kappagh in New Munster being examples. I am referring to these particular instances merely to show the character and reliability of the information that is available from the Land Records of Maryland. Volumes could be written upon similar facts.

That the Irish were coming to Maryland a short time before the Revolution we learn from an incident referred to in the Memoirs of Commodore Joshua Barney, the celebrated naval officer. It is related that in January, 1772, "Barney embarked on his first sea voyage on a vessel trading between Baltimore and Cork. From Cork he went to Liverpool, where the vessel and the cargo were disposed of; and in order that he might secure passage back to Baltimore he was sent to Dublin, where he was charmed with the kindness and hospitality of the inhabitants. The vessel in which Barney and his captain had taken passage from Dublin was in every part stuffed almost to suffocation with Irish redemptioners, men and women, who were his *compagnons du*

⁸ Clouncous was a tract patented by Charles O'Carroll, grandfather of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. The name was later changed to, and is still known as, "The Caves," the original name having been derived from the Gaelic words *cluan cuas*, meaning "the meadow of the caves." Kappagh was patented by Edmund O'Dwyer, and in his petition to the Council he stated that he intended to put the land under tillage. In the Irish language the word *cappeach* (pronounced "kappa") means "a plot under tillage."

voyage.”⁹ The Irish immigrants seem to have been arriving in extraordinarily large numbers at this period, if we are to judge from an announcement in the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* of August 20, 1773, which said: “Within this fortnight three thousand five hundred emigrants have arrived from Ireland.” And from the fact that so many Irish names appear in the muster-roll of the Maryland troops, we may well assume that numbers of the exiles of 1772 and 1773 enrolled themselves under the banner of Washington when the call came for “all good men and true” to stand by the patriot cause.

Besides those who came to the colony direct from Ireland, many are known to have come to America in ships sailing out of English ports, and some very interesting instances are found among lists of “Emigrants from England” compiled from manuscript records discovered by George Fothergill of London in the Public Record Office of England. These lists may be seen in the publications of the New England Historic and Genealogical Society,¹⁰ and therein are given the names of the emigrants, their ages, occupations, the countries whence they came, and their destinations in the American provinces. Among those who came via London, Bristol, Plymouth, and Liverpool between December, 1773, and August, 1775, were 296 people from various parts of Ireland. Of this number, 177 were destined for Maryland, fifty-one for Pennsylvania, fifty for Virginia, nine

⁹ *Biographical Memoirs of Commodore Joshua Barney*, by Mary Barney; Boston, 1832.

¹⁰ *Annual Register*, Vols. LXII to LXVI.

for New York, two for Carolina, and seven for the West Indies. In addition to the 296 recorded as from Ireland, there is listed as coming from English towns a far greater number who bore old Irish names or names that are common among the Irish for centuries, and I am fully convinced that many of these people were also natives of Ireland. Before embarking, all emigrants were required to furnish certain information to the port officials, including the places whence they came; and while some named their original home places in Ireland, others are known to have given their last places of residence or employment in England, and were thus recorded as "from England," from which fact some historians assume that all such people were English. An interesting item among Fothergill's lists is one showing that "forty emigrants from Baltimore in Ireland" sailed from London in the ship *Adventure* on April 26, 1774, "for Baltimore in Maryland." The lists also show that the ages of most of the Irish immigrants ranged from sixteen to thirty-six, and that among them were artisans, husbandmen, tradesmen, and laborers, as well as two surgeons and six schoolmasters, the class of people then most needed in the American Colonies. Some of the most familiar Irish names are represented in these lists.

CHAPTER XXI

EARLY IRISH SETTLERS IN THE CAROLINAS

Irish in the Carolinas as early as 1669. "Lymerick Plantation." The early marriage and other records of South Carolina. An important Irish colony at Williamsburg. Testimony of the Land, Court, and Church Records. Vast numbers of Irish settlers. "Of all countries none have furnished the Province with so many inhabitants as Ireland." Irishmen prominent in the politics of the Carolinas.

ACCORDING to the *Transcripts of the Shaftesbury Papers*,¹ a large colony left England in August, 1669, for South Carolina, and on the way they "stopped at Kinsayle in Ireland about first September," where they took on board a number of people who were willing to take venture in the enterprise. This is the earliest known record of Irish people coming to South Carolina. Very few of the members of this expedition are mentioned by name in South Carolina records, but among them is found Florence O'Sullivan, who in time became one of the leading men of the colony and was appointed its surveyor-general. During the troubles between the colonists and the Indians in the year 1671, O'Sullivan was in command of a body of men on Sullivan's Island in Charleston Harbor. He is mentioned prominently in Hewatt's *Historical Account of the Rise*

¹ Published by the City Council of Charleston, South Carolina.

and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia. ²

An Irish settlement began sometime toward the end of the seventeenth century in Berkeley County, South Carolina, and in the *Council Journals* ³ of the period appear such names as O'Neill, Donnoho, Lynch, Brady, Carty, Sullivan, Donovan, Croney, Mallagan, Logan, McKeown, McLoughlin, and Fitzgerald, mostly in connection with transactions relating to lands on the Cooper and Ashley rivers. Curiously enough, I find "Peter O'Kelley, his wife and six children," mentioned among a number of people who went from Dorchester, Massachusetts, in November, 1696, to found a settlement at a place since called Dorchester, about thirty miles from Charleston, ⁴ and here Peter O'Kelley and his descendants appear as members of the local Methodist congregation. A Patrick O'Kelley from this district was a soldier of the Revolution. To this district also came from Barbadoes in the year 1672 an Irishman named Teague Canteys, the progenitor of several widely separated families of Canteys, some of whom were famous in South Carolina and much of whose history is related in records published by the Historical Commission of Columbia ⁵ and in the county histories.

In the records of the office of the Secretary of State ⁶

² Published at London in 1776.

³ Published by the South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Society.

⁴ *New England Historic and Genealogical Register*, Vol. II, p. 128.

⁵ Book, 1672-1692.

⁶ Vol. XXXIX.

there is an entry of an important conveyance of a tract of land on July 18, 1707, from Thomas Colleton to "three Irishmen, John Gough, Dominick Arthur, and Michael Mahon." This tract was "situate on the Eastern branch of the Cooper River in Berkeley County," contained twelve thousand acres, and was known as "ye Middle Settlement or Lymerick Plantation." It is stated ⁷ that "Limerick, Ireland, was the native home of Michael Mahon," and doubtless, also, of Gough and Arthur, and in all subsequent transfers of these lands they are referred to in the deeds as "part of ye Lymerick Plantation." The descendants of these people are mentioned in the records for several generations, and in 1747 John Gough's portion passed under his will to his sons, John, Richard, Francis, and Edward O'Neale Gough, and finally into the possession of a family named Ball. Mahon's widow sold her holdings, and Dominick Arthur's share fell to his nephew, Christopher Arthur, who by will, dated October 24, 1724, devised "one-half to his beloved kinsman, Patrick Roche, of the City of Limerick, Merchant." Patrick Roche evidently came to take possession of his inheritance, and in 1739 the property passed to his son Francis, and in 1784 the last of the Roches sold it to persons named Quash and Irving. These individual instances are quoted merely to show that Irishmen of worth and standing came to the Carolinas in the earliest days of their settlement by white men.

In various published marriage records of South Carolina for half a century after the above-mentioned set-

⁷ In *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. II.

tlements were established, numerous Irish names appear. In 1737 a colony of immigrants came from Ireland to South Carolina and located near Newberry and Camden, where they formed "the bulk of the entire population of that section," and are mentioned as "by far the most notable body of early settlers in that part of the State." About 1752 another body of Irish immigrants came to this neighborhood, and in official abstracts of the original grants and deeds covering lands in that section are noted such names as O'Cain, O'Neill, O'Quinn, Kelly, McGowan, McCormack, McGraw, McNeill, McConnell, Bready, Rork, Hanahan, Casey, Regan, Drennan, Flannagan, Dugan, Malloy, Malone, Madigan, Brannon, Cassity, Dunn, Downey, Murphy, Fitzpatrick, and Lynch. Indeed, so many Irish names are mentioned in the *Annals of Newberry*, compiled by Judge John Belton O'Neill,⁸ that without much departure from the truth the volume could be described as a story of Irish endeavor in the pioneer days of that part of the "Palmetto State"; and in the ranks of the Revolutionary soldiers raised in that section are found many of the descendants of those Irish settlers. Irish families also came early to other parts of the colony, and glimpses of their story are obtained from the various records published by the South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Society.

Ramsay, in his *History of the Revolution of South Carolina from a British Province to an Independent State*, says that in the year 1719 an act was passed in

⁸ Grandson of Hugh O'Neill, who came to Newberry from Ireland in 1752.

the English Parliament appropriating certain Indian lands in the Carolinas "for the use and encouragement of such of His Majesty's subjects as should come over and settle upon them." Extracts from this act having been published in Ireland, "five hundred persons from Ireland transported themselves to Carolina to take the benefit of them. But the whole project was frustrated by the Proprietors, who claimed these lands as their property and insisted upon the right of disposing of them as they thought fit. Not long afterward, to the utter ruin of the Irish emigrants and in breach of the provincial faith, these Indian lands were surveyed by order of the Proprietors for their own use and laid out in large baronies. By this harsh usage the old settlers, having lost the protection of the new-comers, deserted their plantations and left the frontier open to the enemy. Many of the unfortunate Irish emigrants, having spent the little money they brought with them, were reduced to misery and perished. The remainder removed to the Northern Colonies."

In referring to an important Irish colony which settled in what is now Williamsburg County, South Carolina, about the year 1734, Ramsay says: "By this time [1730] accounts of the great privileges granted by the crown for the encouragement of settlers in the Province had been published through Britain and Ireland and many industrious people had resolved to take the benefit of the royal bounty. Multitudes of labourers and husbandmen in Ireland, oppressed by landlords and bishops and unable to procure a comfortable subsistence for their families, embarked for Carolina. The first

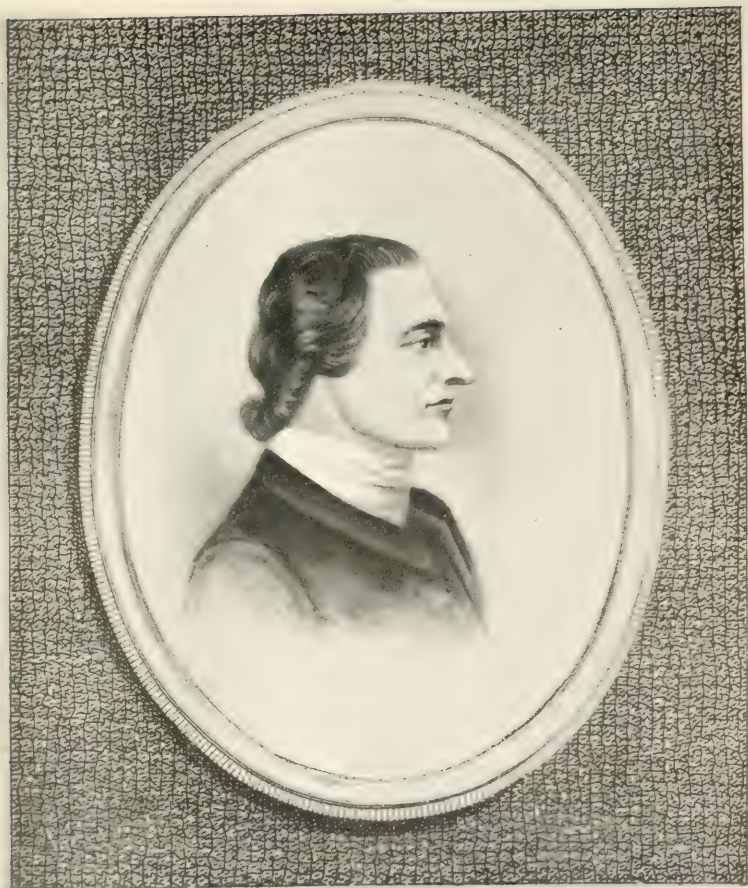
colony of Irish people had lands granted to them, and about the year 1734 formed a settlement called Williamsburg Township. As this township received frequent supplies from the same quarter, the Irish settlers, amidst every hardship, increased in number. Having obtained credit with the merchants for negroes, they were relieved from the severest part of their labour. By this aid and their own industry, spots of land were cleared which in a short period yielded them plenty of provisions and in time became fruitful estates." The plan adopted for the settling of townships proved beneficial in many respects, and "it encouraged multitudes of poor, oppressed people in Ireland, Holland and Germany to emigrate, by which means the province received a number of useful settlers."

About 1755 new emigrants from Ireland, Germany, and the northern colonies obtained grants in the interior parts of South Carolina and introduced the cultivation of wheat, hemp, flax, and tobacco. They had a vast extent of country to range over and the settlers prospered. Eight years later, the provincial government offered money bounties and exemption from taxes for ten years, as well as payment of their passages, to induce Europeans to come to South Carolina, and, as related by Ramsay, "many Irish accepted these offers." When these immigrants arrived they received one hundred acres of land for each man and fifty acres for each woman and child, and, in all, two townships, comprising forty-eight thousand acres of exceedingly fertile soil, were allotted to the Irish settlers. In describing the settlements made in South Carolina by immigrants from

various European countries, Ramsay says: "But of all countries none have furnished the province with so many inhabitants as Ireland. Scarce a ship sailed from any of its ports for Charleston that was not crowded with men, women, and children. The bounty allowed to the new settlers induced numbers of these people to resort to Carolina. The merchants, finding this bounty equivalent to the expense of the passage, persuaded the people to embark. Many causes may be assigned for this spirit of emigration from Ireland, but domestic oppression was the most powerful and prevalent."

Williamson, in his *History of North Carolina*, says that the most numerous settlers in the northwestern part of the province during the first half of the eighteenth century were from Ireland. "Lands being cheap in Carolina," he says, "immigrants from the North of Ireland, by way of Pennsylvania, flocked to that country, and a considerable part of North Carolina is inhabited by these people or their descendants. . . . The Irish reached the places of their settlement in North Carolina by two different avenues of approach; one portion came in by the Delaware River, landing at Philadelphia or Newcastle, the other at Charleston. The former generally occupied at first desirable localities in Pennsylvania, east of the Alleghenies, until finding need of increased room for their numbers, they passed down first into Virginia and thence into Carolina to meet the wave of immigration from the South."

The number of places in this section of the State bearing names of a decidedly Celtic flavor are striking evidence of the settlement of Irish people in these parts.



REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

GEORGE TAYLOR

SIGNER OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, BORN IN IRELAND.

The line of their settlements across the whole State may readily be traced on the highroads leading from Virginia into North Carolina, especially from the northwestern boundary line of Carolina on and through the State as far as the Roanoke. On maps of North Carolina, in the section referred to by Williamson, appear such places as Fitzgerald, Cody, Courtney, Malloy, Riley, Corbett, Murphy, Murfreesboro, Hogan's Creek, Lyons, Mebane, Mullen, Gorman, Donnoha, Dalton, Mooresville, Manning, Oneal, Connover, Connollys, Callahan, Grogansville, Gaffney, McGrady, McConnellsville, Neely, Powers, Lynch Station, Limerick, Belfast, Mayo, Muckross, Mount Mourne, Claremont, and so on.

None of these places have reached any importance from the standpoint of population or commerce, and there is no likelihood that any of them will ever set the world aglow by their fame. But they are set down here so as to show that at the time these places were established there must have been some local Irish influence by which the names were selected; and while I have not stopped to inquire as to the origin of the names of these towns and villages, I believe I am safe in concluding that they were selected in memory of the pioneers of the respective places.

Although Williamson says that the early Irish immigrants to the Carolinas came from the north of Ireland, thus intimating that the settlers comprised the so-called "Scotch-Irish" element only, it is perfectly clear from the names of the settlers that they flocked from all parts of Ireland, and that the ancient stock of the *Clan-na-Gaedhal* was largely represented.

In the manuscript records in the office of the Secretary of State there is an affidavit dated March 30, 1761, taken by one Joseph Willcocks, who is described as "of the City of Dublin in the Kingdom of Ireland." The document is "signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of Patt. Hamilton, Lord Mayor of the City of Dublin," and relates to "a shipload of immigrants" who at that time were about to depart for the Colonies from Dublin Bay. Willcocks, with one Henry McCulloh, was engaged in the transportation of immigrants to North Carolina. They received patents for large grants of lands and then induced people to come and settle on them. These lands they sold to the settlers at the rate of four pounds for every hundred acres, and at one-half that price in the less favored sections of the colony. The records do not indicate in what particular places these settlers located, but I have no doubt that some of those whose names appear in the records after this period were among the immigrants who sailed from the Liffey in the year 1761.

From another official account⁹ we learn that "the immigrants from Ireland, in companies sufficient to form settlements, sought the wilds of America by two avenues: the one by Delaware River at Philadelphia, the other through Charleston. Those landing at the Southern port immediately sought the fertile forests of the upper country, approaching North Carolina and Georgia on the other, and not being particular about boundaries, extended southward at pleasure; while on the north they were checked by a counter tide of immigra-

⁹ *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, Vol. V.

tion. Those who landed on the Delaware, after the desirable lands east of the Alleghenies in Pennsylvania were occupied, turned their course southward and were speedily on the Catawba. Passing on, they met the southern tide, and the stream turned westward to the wilderness long known as 'beyond the mountains' [now Tennessee]. These two streams from the same original fountain, Ireland, meeting and intermingling in this new soil, preserve their characteristic differences, the one possessing some of the air and manner of Pennsylvania, the other of Charleston.

"These enterprising settlers, inured to toil, were hardy and long-lived. The constitutions that grew up in Ireland and Pennsylvania seemed to gather strength and suppleness from the warm climate and fertile soil of their new abodes. Most of the settlers lived long enough to witness the dawning of that prosperity that awaited their children."

We also learn from the same source that "the Irish were the first to settle in the Yadkin River District." That was in 1746. "Soon the districts between the Yadkin and Catawba were laid out in tracts of cultivated lands, the wild brush and shrub growths cleared, immense grazing farms were established, houses grew up, children came, and the settlements populated."

And again, quoting from these official records: "Nearly all were from the same original stock in Ireland." "Scotch-Irish" they are usually called by the historians, although what the justification for this racial designation could have been is beyond our comprehen-

sion. When we scan the lists of "the Macs and the O's," and the many others whose names are found in the records, we know that there was a very generous infusion of Irish blood in the composition of the earliest inhabitants of this portion of the South.

The most striking proof that Irish immigrants settled in large numbers in the Carolinas is found in the constant recurrence of Irish names in Colonial documents covering only four counties of North Carolina, and one has only to scan the names published in the *North Carolina Genealogical Records* to verify the truth of this assertion. In the Abstracts of Wills probated prior to 1760, taken from the Secretary's office at Raleigh and the offices of the clerks of the Superior Courts of Chowan and Bertie counties, there are 429 Irish names, and in similar eighteenth century records of other counties I find 211 such names. In the Abstracts of Conveyances, compiled from the office of the Register of Deeds for Chowan County at Edenton, North Carolina, and in the entries relating to petitions for land grants, all prior to the Revolutionary period, there are 430 Irish names; in the Marriage Bonds of Bertie, Chowan, and Tyrrell counties previous to 1800, there are 444 Irish names, and in various miscellaneous records, such as court files, rent rolls, etc., there are, in all, 174 names of the most distinctively Irish origin.

Ireland furnished to the Carolinas not only tillers of the soil and willing hands to rear their buildings, but governors and other leading men. James Moore, a descendant of the Irish chieftain Rory O'More, became Gover-

nor of the Colony in 1719. Of him Ramsay ¹⁰ says: "He was a man excellently qualified for being a popular leader in perilous adventures. He had been removed by the previous Governor from the command of the militia for warmly espousing the cause of the people. In every new enterprise he had been a volunteer, and in all his undertakings was resolute, steady, and inflexible." Arthur Dobbs, from Carrickfergus, was Governor of North Carolina from 1754 to 1764, and Matthew Rowan, a native of the same Irish city, was Surveyor-General and later President of the Council. Cornelius Harnett, a native of Dublin, Ireland, was a member of the Council, and for several years he is mentioned in the Council Journals more often than any other man in the province, and in 1778 was one of North Carolina's representatives in the Continental Congress. Hugh Waddell, a native of Lisburn, Ireland, was "Commander of the Militia"; Barney McKinney was a member of the Assembly, and Terence Sweeney was a "Member of the Court for Pasquotank County." John Connor became Attorney-General of North Carolina in 1730, and his successor in office was David O'Sheal. In 1760, Thomas McGuire was appointed "Judge of the Admiralty"; and six years later he was made "Captain-General of the Province," and in 1767 was appointed Attorney-General. Among the Justices of the Peace in various parts of North Carolina between 1734 and 1760, I find such names as Moore, Leary, Ryan, Rutledge, Bourke, Logan, Rowan, Foyle, Clifford, MacLendon, Brian, Obryan, Conner, McLewean, Malone, and Kearney;

¹⁰ *History of South Carolina.*

and among the members of the General Assembly between 1754 and 1760 were men named McNeill, McGee, Kenan, McGuire, Walsh, Jordan, Fanning, Murphee, and others whose names indicate an Irish origin.

CHAPTER XXII

PRE-REVOLUTIONARY IRISH IN GEORGIA

Irishmen recorded among the first white men in Georgia. Towns, cities, and counties named by them. The Colonial Records of Georgia. The Irish settlements in Queensborough Township. Characteristic Irish names from the records of land grants. The wandering Irish schoolmaster.

WHILE the State of Georgia is not as rich a field for the historical searcher as other Southern States, some valuable material relating to the pre-Revolutionary settlers is found in the records of the Provincial Council. When Georgia became a State all original records relating to the Colonial period were transferred to the custody of the Secretary of State, but by an act of the Legislature some years ago a committee was appointed to examine these records and to tabulate and index them for the purpose of preserving them for future generations. The original records, or such of them as are extant, are on file at the office of the Secretary of State, but verbatim copies were published under the title of *Colonial Records of Georgia*¹ and are now accessible to all historical students.

These records indicate that from a very early date men of Irish blood settled in Georgia and contributed a share to the building of its foundations. Their names

¹ Twenty-five volumes, published by the State at Atlanta, Georgia, 1904-1915.

are found chiefly in the records of land grants, of the conveyances of lots and holdings in the first towns and settlements established in the colony, in the Council Journals and the court files, on the muster-rolls of the Colonial militia, and in sundry records and documents that have been preserved by historical societies. It is of unusual interest to find Irish names in a list of "persons who composed the first jury empanelled in Georgia" (1733). Oglethorpe, the first English Governor, came to Georgia in that year, and among the Colonists who received grants of town lots at Savannah in 1735 are found some bearing unmistakably Irish names, and the Savannah town records for many years after that period contain a goodly number of such names.²

Some important cities of Georgia owe their origin to Irishmen. One, Kennedy O'Brien, is recorded as the founder of the city of Augusta³ (1735); an Irishman named Mitchell was the first to lay out the site of the city of Atlanta;⁴ an Irishman named McCormack, from Dublin, Ireland, was the founder of the city of Dublin, Georgia;⁵ the town of Fitzgerald took its name from Washington's friend, Colonel John Fitzgerald, celebrated as "the finest horseman in the Revolutionary

² See also *Colonial Records of Georgia*.

³ Charles C. Jones, *History of Georgia*, Vol. I, pp. 217-18. Also, *History of Augusta*, by the same author, pp. 27-29, and Charles Edgeworth Jones' *History of Georgia*.

⁴ Smith, *The Story of Georgia and the Georgian People*; also, Rev. George White, *Historical Collections of Georgia*; New York, 1855.

⁵ White, *Historical Collections of Georgia*.

Army''; ⁶ the city of McDonough, Georgia, perpetuates the name of the victor at the battle of Lake Champlain, while the town of Jasper was named for the Irish soldier, Sergeant William Jasper, whose conduct at the siege of Savannah in 1780 is written in American history as one of the heroic incidents of the Revolutionary War. Twenty-two counties of Georgia were named in honor of Irishmen or of Americans of Irish descent who distinguished themselves in one capacity or another in the civil or political life of that State. On an old map of the State, chiefly in the sections where the early Irish settlers are known to have located, I find places named Limerick, Clare, Ennis, Killarney, Tyrone, Dublin, Blarney, Cork, Belfast, Newry, and Donegal, as well as forty-five places called by Irish family names. With few exceptions, these places have not risen beyond the importance of back-country villages, yet it is evident that those who selected these localities for their permanent settlement sought to perpetuate their native homes in Ireland or the names of the pioneer families.⁷

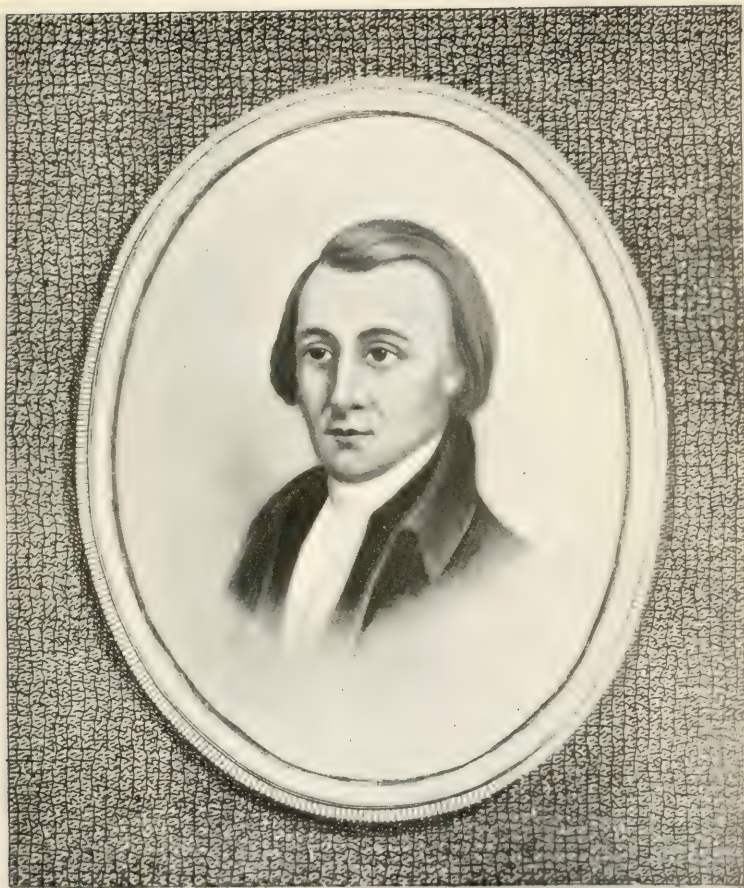
⁶ Lossing, *Field Book of the Revolution*, Vol. II, p. 239. Griffin, in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, Vol. V, No. 1, says that Fitzgerald was born in Ireland and settled at Alexandria, Va., in 1769 or 1770. In 1776 he was appointed aide-de-camp to General Washington at Cambridge, Massachusetts.

⁷ On this point, an historical writer asks with a very "wise" air: "Assuming that the Irish settled in this country in such large numbers as is claimed, how is it that so very few American place-names originated with the Irish pioneers, after the manner by which the English and Dutch settlers named their towns and settlements?" In asking this question, he only displays his ignorance of American geography, for with very little difficulty he could have ascertained that not less than 7000 American place-names recorded in geo-

The land records of Georgia after 1754 contain many references to Irish immigrants who petitioned the Colonial government for grants of land, most of whom came in by way of Charleston, although it is known that some actually "trekked" overland with their families from as far east as Baltimore and Philadelphia. While these Irish people settled principally in the vicinity of Savannah, the various places mentioned in the petitions indicate that in course of time many of them spread out along the banks of the Savannah and Altamaha rivers and their tributaries in the southeastern section of the province, where they established settlements in a wilderness that had been hitherto known only to the traders and Indian tribes. In 1766 the General Assembly of Georgia passed an Act "to encourage settlers to come into the Province," and as a result of the sending of copies of this act to Ireland we learn that in December, 1768, "the most numerous single colony which, up to that time, had come to Georgia from any European country" arrived from Ireland.⁸ They numbered in all one hundred and seven persons. These people, as well as some of those who came over later, located on lands which had been already reserved for them along the Great Ogeechee River, chiefly in what are now Chatham, Screven, and Burke counties; and De Brahm, one of the historians of Georgia, describes one of these settlements as "inhabited by about seventy, and its environs by about two

graphical treatises and 253 counties of the various States of the Union were named after towns, cities, and counties in Ireland, or by Irish family names.

⁸ *Colonial Records of Georgia.*



REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

MATTHEW THORNTON

SIGNER OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, BORN IN LIMERICK, IRELAND.

hundred families, mostly Irish, from which it is generally called the Irish Settlement.”⁹

In 1769 another Irish contingent arrived at Savannah, and in the Colonial Records¹⁰ may be seen a report of a meeting of the Provincial Council, held on October 2, 1770, at which a petition was read “from sundry persons who arrived from Ireland in the ship *Hopewell* in December, 1769, who had lands ordered them in Queensborough Township.” The petition presented to the Council by these people stated “that they were chiefly farmers; that being of late years greatly oppressed by rents in Ireland, so that the most exerted industry scarcely afforded a comfortable subsistence to their families, they determined to seek relief by moving to the American colonies. That being informed by sundry letters from their friends, who came to settle in this Province from Ireland last year in the ship *Prince George*, that a certain portion of land was laid out and appropriated for the purpose of settling a township in this Province, the consideration of the great privileges and advantages afforded them by the Governor and General Assembly were powerful inducements to their immediately resolving to leave their native country, to part with their little substance and thereby enable them to come over and settle in this flourishing Province, hoping to entitle themselves to its protection, encouragement, and assistance, and of being found in return to the utmost of their ability equally useful in forwarding

⁹ John G. W. De Brahm, *History of the Province of Georgia*; Wormsloe, North Carolina, 1849.

¹⁰ Vol. XI.

your generous intentions in the further settling and increasing the same. That although some of your petitioners have come over upon Redemption, yet the far greater part have paid their passage, in the doing of which, many having large families, they have much reduced their substance." They asked, therefore, "that they may be partakers with their fellow-countrymen in the lands yet ungranted in the Township of Queensborough, and to grant them such other relief as in your great wisdom and generous disposition you shall judge necessary to their melancholy circumstances."

From all of which we can judge that the Irish immigrants were among the most useful settlers that the Colonists could wish to have among them, and that they were a splendid acquisition to the new country. The minutes of the meeting of the Council at which this petition was presented say: "It was ordered that the said petition be postponed until the lands reserved for the Irish settlers be ascertained."

In the *Colonial Records of Georgia*,¹¹ under date of February 4, 1772, there is a report of another petition to the Governor and Council "on behalf of the Irish settlers of Queensborough Township and others who are expected from Ireland in a short time." In the same month these Irish settlers to the number of two hundred arrived, and "the Board, taking the said memorial into consideration, resolved that 25,000 acres of land near to or adjoining Queensborough Township be reserved for the use of the Irish settlers."¹² Later in the same

¹¹ Vol. XII.

¹² *Ibid.*

year, still another Irish contingent arrived at Savannah and located near the Ogeechee River at what is now Louisville, in Jefferson County, and, according to Smith,¹³ "it was known as 'The Irish Colony.' "

We also learn that from time to time other immigrants came from Ireland and located near the same region. Some of them suffered much hardship during the Revolutionary War, not only from their immediate neighbors, the Indians, but from the English soldiers and their Tory allies. It must not be forgotten also that the information as to these continual Irish arrivals is gleaned mainly from the land records, where only a fraction of the Irish names necessarily appear, for it is known that many Irish "indentured servants" or "redemptioners" also made their way to Georgia from Baltimore and Charleston. That there was a constant flow of Irish immigrants, or descendants of Irish settlers from other provinces, into Georgia after the settlements in Queensborough Township were established, is undeniable, as a glance at the records will show. Many of the petitions filed with the Provincial Council asked for grants of land, "in or near the Irish settlements at Queensborough," and in some cases the petitioners mentioned the names of other settlers already located, with a request that they be allotted lands as near them as possible, thus indicating a natural desire to be in an Irish atmosphere. They were not all poor immigrants by any means, nor were they all new-comers at the time of their appearance before the Council, for some stated in their petitions that they already were in possession of slaves

¹³ *The Story of Georgia and the Georgian People.*

and lands and had been "for some time in the Province" with their families.

Thus we see that for several years before the Revolution there was a constant influx of Irish settlers to Georgia. They are referred to as "Irish" in the official documents of the province, without any qualifying prefix or affix; they described themselves as "Irish," as they were in fact, and the best possible proof that can be adduced in support of this statement is contained in the names of the petitioners, which show that a large proportion of them were of the old Celtic race and that they came from every part of Ireland. In fact, it is quite apparent from the names that the greatest number were from the provinces of Munster and Connacht.¹⁴ Yet more than one historian of Georgia refers to these people as "Scotch-Irish from the Province of Ulster," thus intimating, in common with other historians having the same ulterior object in view, that if history is to give them any credit as American pioneers, the honor is to be accorded to them chiefly because of their alleged "Scotch" descent!

From published historical sketches of the counties of Georgia and the town histories we obtain a glimpse of the status of the Celtic element that settled at various

¹⁴ Among the petitioners for land grants appear such characteristic Irish names as O'Berry, O'Cain, O'Daniel, O'Friel, O'Neill, O'Sheals, and no less than twelve O'Bryans; McCartys, McGuires, McMahons, McKelveys, McKennans, McLaughlins, McGowans, McMurphys, McCormacks, McGarrys; Burke and Barry, Clancy and Callahan, Casey and Carroll, Devany and Daly, Donnelly and Doyle, Doolin and Dooley, Flanagan and Farrell, Fitzgerald and Fitzpatrick, Garvey and Grady, Gillespie and Geary, Hurley and

places throughout the province. Here and there through these sketches are scattered a goodly number of Irish names, and in several instances these Irish people are mentioned as among "the first settlers." The Records of Land Grants of Wilkes County, copied from the manuscript folios on file at the clerk's office at Washington, Georgia, indicate that a large number of Irish people located in that county. In most cases, the names are spelled phonetically, and while the exact locations of the grants are not given, it is assumed that they settled in that particular section of the State north and west of Augusta, for it is in records relating to this vicinity that most of the Irish names are mentioned. We are told that "Wayne County was largely settled by people who came from the north of Ireland,"¹⁵ and in Dooly County "the earliest families were Doolys and Clarkes," and the county was named after Colonel John Dooly, who, as commander of Georgia militia in the War of the Revolution, made a brilliant record against Tarleton and Cornwallis. Colonel Dooly served throughout the whole war, and after its close became a Judge of the Superior Court. According to White,¹⁶ "the Doolys originally came from Ireland to North Carolina, but about the beginning of the Revolution settled in Lincoln County, Georgia. Colonel Dooly was conspicuous for

Hogan, Kelly and Keating, Lynch and Logan, Murphy and Muligan, Moran and Malone, Maroney and Madden, Nolan and Nugent, Powers and Phelan, Quinn and Quinlan, Ryan and Reilly, Sullivan and Sweeney, Toole and Tobin, Ward and Walsh, and a host of similar names.

¹⁵ Smith, *Story of Georgia and the Georgian People*.

¹⁶ *Historical Collections of Georgia*.

his services on both sides of the Savannah River above and below Petersburg, and at Kettle Creek he commanded the right wing of the American forces and largely contributed to the victory of the Americans."

It is a remarkable fact that there was hardly a meeting of the Provincial Council of Georgia, between the years 1767 and 1772, at which petitioners for land grants bearing the most ancient Irish names did not appear, and it is not less remarkable to find an historian of Georgia saying, in reference to the general colonization of the province: "As a general thing, these colonists had no one to preach to them and no one to teach their children, save now and then a wandering Irishman who taught a subscription school for a few months of the year"! ¹⁷ In poring over these records and noting the extraordinary regularity with which Irish names appear therein, one is impelled to wonder, and the searcher finds himself asking, Where now are the descendants of those Irish pioneers of Georgia, some of whom came in the days when that now flourishing State was a howling wilderness? Like the host of Irish-blooded Americans of Colonial stock scattered throughout this great country, many of them have lost their ancient names and some believe that they are of "Scotch-Irish" or "Anglo-Saxon" descent; the story of their Irish forebears is lost for all time, and they are led to believe, perhaps, from their reading of history, that the Irish had no hand in laying the foundations on which the great American Republic was erected!

¹⁷ Smith, *The Story of Georgia and the Georgian People*, p. 70.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE FIRST CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES

The Government publication, *A Century of Population Growth*. An analysis proves this work to be utterly unreliable. The compilers failed to take into consideration the changes in Irish names. Comparison with the Revolutionary muster-rolls shows numerous Irish names omitted from the Census Returns. Conclusion.

AS for the United States Government publication, *A Century of Population Growth*, if we accept the figures furnished by this compilation we are compelled to believe that the white population of the United States in 1790 was divided as follows:

English	2,345,844	or	83.5%	of the whole
Scotch	188,589	or	6.7%	of the whole
German	156,457	or	5.6%	of the whole
Dutch	56,623	or	2%	of the whole
Irish	44,273	or	1.6%	of the whole
French	13,384	or	.5%	of the whole
Hebrew and all others	5,078	or	.1%	of the whole
Total			2,810,248	100%

The 44,273 Irish are thus distributed by States:

Maine	1,334	New York	2,525
New Hampshire	1,346	Pennsylvania ..	8,614
Vermont	579	Maryland	5,008
Massachusetts .	3,732	Virginia	8,842
Rhode Island ..	459	North Carolina .	6,651
Connecticut	1,589	South Carolina .	3,576
Total			44,273

Government statisticians are supposed to be a cold-blooded class of men, entirely free from racial, religious, or political prejudice, whose *forte* is the collection of incontrovertible facts; yet when we analyze the figures now before us, we find that they are anything but correct. In fact, the most patient critic of these figures, acquainted with the actual historic facts, cannot help characterizing them as nothing short of a joke!

If it be true that there were only 3732 persons of Irish descent of both sexes in the State of Massachusetts in the year 1790, it seems strange that according to the marriage records of the city of Boston alone nearly 2000 persons bearing Irish names were married there during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and that the published Vital Records of only fifty-three other Massachusetts towns and cities, which I have examined, contain 1700 entries covering marriages and births of people of Irish name, all prior to the year 1790! When we add to these approximately 10,000 Irish names which appear in the seventy-one volumes of Colonial Records published by the New England Historic and Genealogical Society, in the Probate and Land Records of Massachusetts, the town and county histories and authentic historical collections like those of the Essex Institute, the mystery deepens beyond possible understanding.

If it be true that the same class of people in the State of Pennsylvania in 1790 numbered only 8614, what could have become of the descendants of the "crowds of foreigners [Irish] who are yearly poured upon us," as stated by the Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania in 1728; of the descendants of "the great numbers of Irish

Papists and convicts" who were in Pennsylvania in 1756; of the descendants of the Irish immigrants, numbering "12,000 per year," who came to the province between 1726 and 1750, or of the 18,000 Irish immigrants who came to America during the first half of the year 1773 alone, not to speak of the thousands of others of the same class who came to Pennsylvania at other times?

If the male and female population of Maryland of Irish birth or descent in 1790 was only 5008, how could it be possible that upward of 4600 Revolutionary soldiers of Irish name enlisted in Maryland? An exact count of the Irish names in the Land Records of Maryland alone of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries brings the total number to 2100, and must it be said that the descendants of these people had all disappeared by the time the first census was taken, more than half a century later?

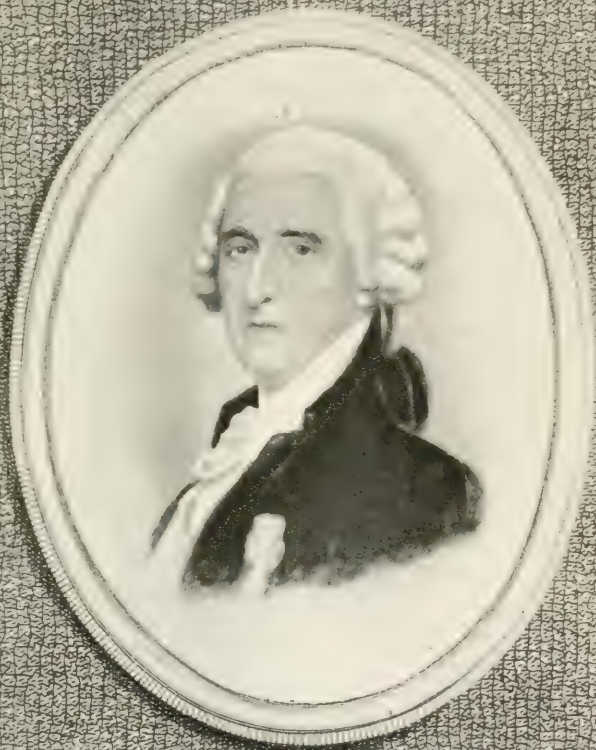
If it be true that only 2525 persons of Irish descent were in the State of New York in the year 1790, what explanation have the government statisticians to offer when we point to the several thousand Irish names listed in the marriage, land, military, and court records, and in other Colonial records published by the New York Historical Society and the New York Biographical and Genealogical Society, not to speak of the vast numbers whose names appear in other similar publications?

When we take up individual names, the absurdity of the government figures is still more amazing. At page 255 of this monumental work it is shown there were 73 "heads of families" named O'Brien, under the various renderings of that name, in the United States in 1790;

and as the "average size of each family" of O'Briens is given as 5.2, the total number of O'Briens in the entire country, males and females of all ages, is given as 376. Yet there are approximately 250 O'Briens on the Revolutionary muster-rolls alone! Of the McCarthys there is shown to have been a total of 625 in the United States in 1790, yet the number of soldiers named McCarthy recorded on the Revolutionary muster-rolls is 335, and in other records a much greater number is given! A further analysis of the total number of persons of these two names shows them thus distributed in *A Century of Population Growth*:

	O'Briens	McCarthys
Maine	26	15
New Hampshire	5	None
Vermont	16	15
Massachusetts	37	72
Rhode Island	None	5
New York	73	116
Pennsylvania	26	125
Maryland	52	36
Virginia	16	140
North Carolina	57	34
South Carolina	52	67
Connecticut	16	None
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	Total 376	625

According to this, there were only 37 persons named O'Brien, males and females of all ages and conditions, in Massachusetts in 1790, and if that were so we can only wonder where the 83 Revolutionary soldiers named O'Brien, whose names are found in the *Muster-Rolls of*



REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

THOMAS MC KEAN

SIGNER OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.
SON OF WILLIAM AND LETITIA MC KEAN OF COUNTY DERRY, IRELAND.

the Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War, as officially published by that State, could have sprung from! Neither in Connecticut nor in New Hampshire could the veracious government statisticians find a single individual of the name McCarthy in 1790, yet the Connecticut and New Hampshire muster-rolls contain 27 Revolutionary soldiers named McCarthy, and in the vital statistics of both States are found a goodly number of people of that name!

In Pennsylvania it is shown there were 125 McCarthys, male and female; so that, if it be true that 110 McCarthys served in the Revolutionary army and navy of Pennsylvania, as the muster-rolls plainly show, some of them must have been the ghosts of the McCarthys who died before the outbreak of the Revolutionary war!

The same remarks apply to numerous other Irish names. For example, in *A Century of Population Growth*, there are shown to have been only eight persons named Murphy in Massachusetts in 1790, yet the muster-rolls of the Revolutionary soldiers and sailors of Massachusetts contain the names of seventy-eight Murphys and eight McMurphys. In Maryland a total of forty-seven Murphys of both sexes is shown, but the Revolutionary records of that State contain the names of eighty-five Murphys. Similar discrepancies are shown in the case of the Kellys, only to a much greater extent, for among the Irish names appearing in early American records the Kellys far outnumber any other family.

In a table entitled "Nomenclature, dealing with names represented by at least 100 white persons, by

States and Territories, at the First Census, 1790," in *A Century of Population Growth*, numerous surnames are listed and opposite each are given statistics showing the number of "Heads of Families" and the number of persons of each name in the various States represented in the First Census. As a further aid in determining the reliability of these statistics, the following twenty Irish surnames have been selected with the number of people of each name supposed to have been in the United States in the year 1790, and in a parallel column is shown the number of soldiers and sailors of the same surnames that are recorded in the Revolutionary muster-rolls:

Surname	Number of Persons in the U. S. in 1790, According to the Census.	Number of Revo- lutionary Soldiers and Sailors.	Surname	Number of Persons in the U. S. in 1790, According to the Census.	Number of Revo- lutionary Soldiers and Sailors.
Callaghan	164	140	Mahony	110	89
Crowley	none*	54	Maloney	127	97
Dempsey	141	73	Malloy	127	89
Donohue	125	73	McGahy, McGahan.	none*	72
Duffy	133	78	McMahon	207	143
Dwyer	none*	57	McManus	none*	72
Flynn	188	108	O'Hara	none*	122
Gallagher	177	86	Quinn	191	122
Haggerty	none*	62	Shea	134	73
Lafferty	129	61	Sheehan	none*	66

Totals 2055 1669

Now, the total of 2055 includes adult men and women, the "lame, the blind and the halt," boys and girls and

*Number said to have been less than 100.

babes in arms, and if we add an average of 75 persons for each of the seven surnames where the number is said to have been less than one hundred, we have a total of 2580 persons of these twenty surnames in the United States in 1790. If we assume that there were an equal number of persons so named in the Colonies in 1775 and that seventy per cent. of them were non-combatants—which, according to all known statistics, is a low average—that would leave approximately 775 men of these twenty surnames capable of bearing arms. But, as it is shown there are at least 1669 soldiers and sailors so named on the Revolutionary muster-rolls, we can understand at once how reliable are the figures furnished to us through *A Century of Population Growth*. Of such surnames as O'Neill, Sullivan, McCarthy, Reilly, Ryan, Kelly, O'Brien, Murphy, Connor, Burke, Doherty and Connelly, there are shown to have been 9044 of both sexes and of all ages in the United States in 1790, included in which number there could hardly have been more than 3000 fit fighting men when the Revolutionary war broke out, and even some of these must necessarily have remained at home to provide a living for their dependents. But, as the total number of soldiers and sailors of these nine names was 3841, we have a further insight into the truth and logic of the Government figures.

The name of Donnelly is a striking illustration of this. Of persons of this name of both sexes there are said to have been a total of one hundred and eighty-seven in the United States in 1790, yet there were one hundred and fifty-five Revolutionary soldiers so named. On the basis

of the one hundred and fifty-five Donnellys who joined the Revolutionary army. I estimate there must have been nearly six hundred persons of that name in America during the period of the war, and since the census of 1790 gives a total of only one hundred and eighty-seven, it is perfectly plain that all of the Donnellys were not counted. To consider the question from another standpoint, the following data are submitted as showing a comparison between the number of soldiers and sailors of the Revolution and the number of persons on the Census Returns of 1790 in the States of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, these two being selected because it is admitted that it was in Pennsylvania the greatest number of Irish immigrants settled and the population of Massachusetts is claimed to have been the most English of any part of the Colonies.

Surname		Number in Revolutionary Army	Number in Census of 1790	Surname		Number in Revolutionary Army	Number in Census of 1790
Brennan	In Penna.	41	none	Doyle	In Mass.	38	15
Brennan				Dugan	In Mass.	14	10
Casey	In Mass.	28	11	Dwyer	In Mass.	17	none
	In Penna.	18	15	Farrell	In Mass.	20	none
Cassidy	In Mass.	11	10		In Penna.	28	30
Cavanagh	In Mass.	24	none	Fitzgerald	In Penna.	42	none
	In Penna.	29	none	Fitzpatrick	In Mass.	6	none
Crowley	In Penna.	44	none	Flynn	In Penna.	31	21
	In Mass.	11	none		In Mass.	34	13
Donohue	In Mass.	11	none	Keating	In Penna.	26	none
	In Penna.	28	11		In Mass.	10	none
Donovan	In Penna.	17	14	Leary	In Mass.	17	5
	In Mass.	8	none	Mahony	In Mass.	20	none

Surname	Number in Revolutionary Rolls	Number in Census of 1790	Surname	Number in Revolutionary Rolls	Number in Census of 1790	
Mahony... In Penna.	19	19	McNamara In Mass.	11	none	
Malone .. In Mass.	17	none	O'Donnell. In Mass.	19	none	
Maloney . In Mass.	32	10	O'Neill .. In Penna.	104	47	
McCaffrey In Mass.	11	none	Quinn ... In Mass.	30	10	
McCormick In Mass.	11	none	Ryan In Penna.	118	115	
McGuire . In Mass.	21	none		In Mass.	76	60
McLaughlin In Mass.	22	none	Sullivan .. In Penna.	90	80	
McMahon. In Mass.	23	none		In Mass.	40	15
McManus. In Mass.	11	none				

Of the forty-one names all told, selected for the purpose of this inquiry, there were 6770 Revolutionary soldiers and sailors, so that, when we consider the fact that there must be added to this number the vast number of persons of the same names appearing in the land and court records, in the baptismal, marriage and death records and in the various other classes of vital records of colonial times, we are in a position to say that the Government publication here under review is utterly inconsistent with truth or reason. If the same inquiry were made in the case of each Irish name, with an analysis of the number in each of the original Thirteen Colonies, I am satisfied the same identical result could be shown, with greater or lesser variations, and the absurdity of the Government figures would then appear in a more glaring light. The statistics as to Irish emigration to the Colonies previous to the Revolution, gathered from a thousand sources, supported by official records and newspapers of the time, prove how idle it would be

to give any further consideration to the Government figures and impartial readers may safely be left to form their own judgment of the value of the compilation in view of the irrefutable facts here presented.

And yet, this publication is the basis upon which is built the theory that the Irish constituted only one and six-tenths per cent. of the population of the United States in 1790 and, as a logical inference, that the Irish contributed very little to the achievement of American independence! It is the "authority" usually quoted by learned college professors and "near historians" in their disquisitions upon the racial elements from which the great American people have sprung and for the assertion, made by more than one historical writer, that the Colonies which now form the United States should be considered as "England transplanted"! The Pharisees of history may have withheld from Ireland the credit that is her due, but, thanks to the never-failing guidance of the records, we are able to show that Irish blood, brain and brawn have been a valuable acquisition to the building of the fabric of American institutions and that the sons of Ireland merit more prominent recognition than has been accorded them in the pages of American history. The testimony presented in this volume has been adduced from sources which can hardly be called into question and its perusal by those who so amusingly glorify the Anglo-Saxon as the sole founder of the American race and American institutions would have a chastening influence on their ignorance of early American history, and would reopen the long vista of the years at the very-beginning of which they would see Celt and

Saxon, Teuton and Gaul, working side by side solidifying the foundations upon which this great nation of freemen rests.

In reviewing this subject, there is an almost uncontrollable desire to go into the facts at greater length, so vast is the wealth of material from which to draw. But I have thought that too much detail would only result in confusing the salient features, and, in any event, the story of the early Irish settlements in any one section of the country seems to be almost a repetition of the story of the Irish pioneers in other sections of our land. With this in mind, I have not done more than touch the surface, and have dealt only with concrete facts obtained from unquestionable sources. In case there should be a desire to verify any statement made in this book, it can be done readily by reference to the records and historical works already alluded to, and by examination of the records preserved at such offices as those of the Secretaries of State, Land Commissioners, and other custodians of public records of the various States. For the convenience of those who cannot consult the originals, authentic copies of many of these records are available at the leading public libraries, the Library of Congress and the historical societies, but those mentioned in the text and in the footnotes of this work constitute only a fraction of the great number of authorities I have examined during a period of nearly twenty years tracing "the footsteps of the Celt" in America.

When we bear all these historic facts in mind, and when we consider the further fact that the Irish immigrants, for the most part, were driven into exile by the

oppressions of an alien government and of rack-renting landlords, we need not wonder that large numbers of Irishmen and their sons are found enrolled in the army of the Revolution, and that they were so eager to offer their hands and hearts to the service of their adopted country. And I think that impartial readers will recognize, even from this short review of the evidence afforded by the records, that the testimony given before the English Parliament in 1779 by disinterested witnesses could not have been very far short of the truth, and that the descendants of the Irish in America are fully justified in claiming that were it not for the numbers and influence of the Irish and their participation in the conflict, the emancipation of the American people from English rule would have been postponed for many years.

CHAPTER XXIV

AMERICA'S DEBT TO IRELAND

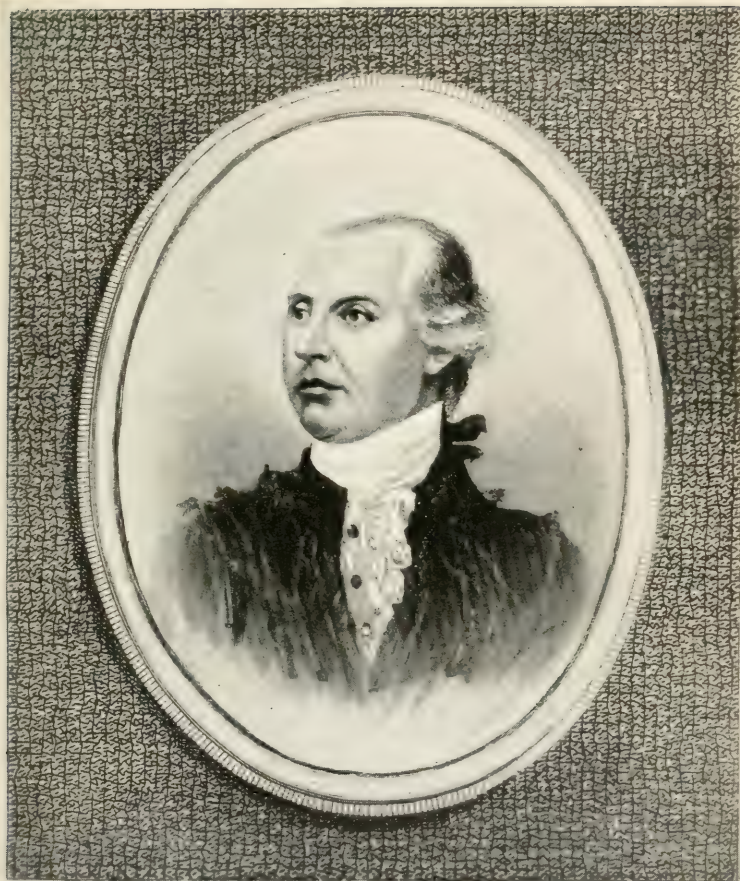
End of the World War. France repaid for her aid to the struggling Colonies. America's contribution to the Allied cause. What will be England's response? Self-determination by all nations, great and small, the only means by which permanent peace can be secured. Ireland's claims to nationhood and to the gratitude of America.

THE preceding chapters deal with Ireland's part in America's struggle for liberty. This, the concluding chapter, will be devoted to a brief survey of the influence exerted by the achievement of American independence upon the establishment of liberty throughout the world.

Now that the terrible struggle in Europe has drawn to a close, and America has triumphantly vindicated the justice of the cause which impelled her to war on German autocracy, it is pertinent to recall the situation at present existing in Ireland. Much has been said, and properly said, since the outbreak of the war, of the debt of gratitude which we owed to France because of the services rendered by that nation in the struggle for American liberty. America has well disproved the assertion that "republics are ungrateful": the American people have not forgotten the favors that were done for them by the gallant French nation: and in this, her hour of strength, America has well repaid the debt. At

the outset of the Revolution, America appealed to Ireland, and not in vain, for Ireland's sons answered the call with the same cheerful readiness that they have responded to all similar appeals in the wars in which America has been engaged, and the words of Lord Chatham in the House of Commons in 1775, that "the Irish are with the Americans to a man," are just as applicable to-day.

Irishmen and their descendants, in every land under the sun, rejoice that the light of liberty is to shine once again for the oppressed nations of Europe, and especially that this happy result has been achieved through America's participation in the war. But what of Ireland itself, one of the "small nations" of Europe? She contributed more fighting men to the Revolution than even the gallant French, and America owes more to Ireland for the success of that Revolution than to any other European country, for in the days when it was unfashionable and dangerous to speak of American Independence the Irish immigrants and their sons were planting the seeds of liberty on this continent. Ireland has waged the longest and most bitter struggle in history for human freedom, and her people still cry out to the generosity of their American friends. Will the call be heard in America, as the call of the Americans was heard in Ireland one hundred and forty-three years ago? There is every reason to hope that it will; that the great-hearted American people will pay the debt their country owes to Ireland for the part played by her sons in the achievement of our liberties; and that the American doctrine of human freedom will be consist-



REPRODUCED BY ANNA FRANCES LEVINS

GENERAL RICHARD BUTLER
OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY, BORN IN DUBLIN, IRELAND.

ently applied to all, including the "Island of Sorrows."

And how may that debt be paid? Our great President has solemnly declared that after this war "the small nationalities shall have the right to self-determination," and that this question shall be settled at the Peace Conference; and Ireland has every reason to expect that her inalienable right to self-determination shall not be excluded from the great subjects to be discussed at this historic convention. A well-known American jurist, a serious student of this question, thus expresses himself on the present relations between England and Ireland, especially as they apply to the forthcoming Peace Conference, and the timeliness of his views justifies their citation here:

"Surely every American, and every lover of liberty and humanity throughout the world, is anxious that this should be the last great war and that peace and good will among the various races of mankind shall permanently take the place of the rule of force and of the horrors of war. How can this end be attained until and unless all peoples and all nations are permitted to enjoy the right of self-determination and to select for themselves the form of government under which they are to live? We entered this war to put an end to autocracy and to bring into existence the rule of democracy. That does not mean merely the end of German autocracy, or British autocracy, or Russian autocracy, but of all autocracy. It does not mean to bring freedom to the Poles alone, nor to restore freedom to the Serbians alone, but to bring freedom to all the oppressed peoples and to all the down-trodden nations.

“And what people deserve such consideration at our hands as do the Irish? What other land has sent us sons who have been so numerous and so constant in our behalf in every hour of our existence and in every battle for our honor and our flag? Not alone were they in great numbers in the Revolutionary armies, not alone did they make certain the success of the Revolution and since then render decisive aid in every war in which we have engaged, but their services in times of peace, in every walk in life, in the development of our great country have been well-nigh priceless to us. And this not alone in the material things, the building of our railroads and bridges and roads and cities and the clearing of our forests, but even more in the development of our ideals and of the spiritual side of our nature—that side which made us enter this gigantic war in order to bring to others that liberty which we value above all other riches. Think of their contributions to our national character; their indomitable perseverance; their indestructible optimism; the charm and vivacity of their manner even in dark hours of gloom and storm; their inexhaustible humor and their brilliant wit; and, above all, their belief in the invisible world around us that makes for the certain triumph of the moral forces in every great contest among men! We have shown the world that we are not ungrateful to France, that great country whose service to us we have now many times repaid. Can we afford to let history record that it was only to the strong that we were grateful, and that in our hour of victory and triumph, when the whole world acclaimed our power and our strength, we turned a deaf

ear to the call of the people whose blood has helped so greatly to make us what we are to-day, and refused to pay to Ireland the debt so long owed? Let it not be so, for in that direction lies not alone ingratitude—‘basest of vices’—but danger for the future of all mankind!

“While Ireland, in its present condition, stands festering like a great sore in the side of England, there can be no security or peace for England or for Europe. English statesmen have tried through the centuries every method suggested by ingenuity or force or craft to settle this question,—except the method of leaving Ireland to the Irish; and the Premier of England was forced to confess recently that the people of Ireland are now as dissatisfied with English rule as they were in the time of Cromwell.

“It is entirely within the bounds of propriety for America to remind England of the situation as it existed in the spring of 1917, when England, with her back to the wall, according to the admissions of her own generals and statesmen, found herself beaten and practically at the end of her resources, in which crucial moment America entered the war and brought victory and triumph to the Allied cause. The former enemies became the co-belligerents of the great World War! The despised and derided Colonies became, through liberty and the opportunity to develop their resources, the saviours in the great hour of fate! Had Washington failed, who can say that America to-day would have been much more powerful than Canada or Australia,

and under such conditions what would have been the fate of the Allies?

“Justice demands that Ireland should have the same right accorded to her as that which is to be given to the other small nations of Europe. Experience, dearly bought by England, suggests the wisdom of turning an age-long enemy into a friendly neighbor. Gratitude and consistency call on America to help Ireland to liberty, now that we have it in our power to do so. The history of mankind, and the cry of humanity which calls out for permanent peace to end all wars, both urge that only by self-determination can tyranny and war be banished from the earth. A thousand selfish interests probably will call out in England, now that her hour of peril has passed, to make no concessions to America on this question. But that extraordinary genius which has watched over England’s destinies for the last three centuries, and which has made her survive trials and outlive storms that seemed certain to engulf her, may raise up among her sons one who will remind her that it will be well to listen to the voice of that great country but for which she would have gone to inevitable destruction, and to do now in her hour of triumph that act of justice which she has so long deferred.

“And that act may result in building up another great and prosperous country near her shores, whose commerce would be with all mankind, instead of with her alone, but the portion of that commerce which she would secure would be greater than the whole of that which she now monopolizes. It may result in bringing into existence a government in Ireland which would

mean the creation of a hundred ties that would make for friendliness and neighborly kindness, and of contributions to mankind, in the benefits of which England would necessarily share, that would outweigh many times any losses she would sustain. It may, indeed, result in loosening her control of the seas, but it would remove the enmity and hostility of England's governing classes that have gone wherever the Irish or their descendants are to be found on earth,—and where is it that they are not to be found? And such an act will do more to remove the differences that have existed between America and England than all other things that she can do, in that it will satisfy the vast body of Americans of the sincerity of England in talking of self-determination for the small nations.

“Possibly, England may be told by her zealous friends here that America has been won so completely from her old ideas that, to all intents and purposes, the separation of the two countries is a thing of the past. But let her make no such mistake. Never, underneath the surface, was the spirit of American nationality so vibrant and so strong; never was there such pride in what our country has been able to do and is determined to do for the cause of liberty and mankind; never so certain the reaction which will come against any failure unselfishly to keep promises and professions made in the hour of danger and distress. America has awakened for the first time to a realization of her wonderful strength, not merely in material resources, but in the moral leadership of the progressive forces of the world, which will remain with her so long, and only so long, as

she is faithful to the eternal truths contained in that immortal document—in the common language, it is well to remember, of America and England—the Declaration of Independence, which startled the tyrants of mankind and started that procession of peoples toward liberty, which should not and will not end until all governments on earth derive their powers from the consent of those whom they govern.

“In that path lie safety and security for mankind; peace and good will among men, and freedom from war, with its attendant horrors; an end to the colossal armaments and preparations for war which bring in their train the over-taxation which breeds anarchy and hatred of all authority; the League of Nations and the rule of justice of which idealists all over the world are dreaming, and the permanent peace which will secure to England, as to all the rest of the world, the exemption which she needs from another test of her strength in arms. May her statesmen have the courage to rise to the occasion and by their devotion to justice and the fulfilment of their pledges help our great President, at the Peace Conference, to make that permanent, because just, peace which will be a lasting blessing to all mankind!”

APPENDIX

OFFICERS OF THE AMERICAN ARMY AND NAVY OF THE REVOLUTION OF IRISH BIRTH OR DESCENT

Note—Those marked with an asterisk (*) were born in Ireland. There can be no doubt that many of the others were also native Irishmen, but the place of birth is not given in the records from which these names are obtained.

*Armstrong, John, Brigadier-General, Continental Army

*Armstrong, James, Captain, Virginia Light Horse

*Adams, William, Surgeon, Proctor's Pennsylvania Artillery

Adair, John, Major, South Carolina Militia

*Aiken, John, Lieutenant, Bedford, N. H., Militia

Barry, David, Sub-Lieutenant, Regiment de Walsh, French-Irish Brigade

Barry, Richard, Lieutenant, Regiment de Walsh, French-Irish Brigade

*Barry, Andrew, Captain, South Carolina Partisan Rangers

Barry, James, Lieutenant-Colonel, Philadelphia County Militia

*Barry, Michael, Privateer Captain, Mass. Naval Service

Barry, John, Captain, South Carolina Militia

*Barry, Michael, Surgeon, 3d Continental Dragoons, Va.

*Barry, John, Captain, Continental Navy

*Barry, Patrick, Captain, Pennsylvania Navy

Barry, Theodore, Lieutenant, Pennsylvania Navy

Baldwin, Cornelius, Lieutenant, Colonel William Malcom's Regiment of New York Levies

Baldwin, Cornelius, Surgeon, 8th Regiment, Virginia Line

Banning, John, Captain, Virginia Militia

Barnwell, John, Brigadier-General, South Carolina Militia

- Barrett, Bartholomew, Captain, 9th Regiment, Albany County, N. Y., Militia
- Barrett, James, Lieutenant, 4th Regiment, New York Line
- Barrett, James, Lieutenant-Colonel, Mass. Militia
- Barrett, James, Captain, Massachusetts Militia
- Barrett, Joseph, Captain, Nichols' N. H. Regiment, Continental Line
- Barrett, Richard, Captain, Philadelphia City Guards
- Barrett, Oliver, Ensign, Warner's N. H. Regiment, Continental Line
- Barrett, William, Captain, Virginia Continental Line
- Barrett, Robert, Captain, Virginia Convention Guards
- Barrett, Thomas, Captain, New York Militia
- Barrett, William, Captain, Baylor's N. C. Dragoons
- Barron, James, Brigadier-General, Virginia State Troops
- Barron, James, Lieutenant, Virginia Militia
- Barron, John, Lieutenant, Massachusetts Militia
- Barron, Oliver, Captain, Massachusetts Militia
- Barron, Timothy, Captain, Bedell's Regiment, Vermont Militia
- Barron, William, Captain, Col. Isaac Wyman's N. H. Regiment
- Barron, Richard, Captain, Virginia State Navy
- Barber, Francis, Colonel, 2d Regiment, N. J. Line
- Barber, John, Colonel, New York Line
- Bennett, Patrick, Quartermaster, 4th Continental Dragoons
- *Blaine, Ephraim, Commissary-General of Purchases, Penna. Line
- Bohannon, Ambrose, Captain, 1st Va. Continental Artillery
- Bolan, Thomas, Adjutant, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- Bowen, Daniel, Lieutenant, Chester County, Pa., Militia
- *Boylan, James, Lieutenant, Philadelphia City Artillery
- Boylan, James, Captain, Penna. Battalion of the Flying Camp
- Boyle, Alexander, Adjutant, Philadelphia City Militia
- Boyle, James, Lieutenant, Chester County, Pa., Militia
- Boyle, James, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- Boyle, John, Officer, First City Troop of Philadelphia
- *Boyle, Peter, Lieutenant, 13th Regiment, Penna. Line
- Boyle, Peter, Ensign, Penna. State Regiment of Foot

- Boyle, Philip, Lieutenant, York County, Pa., Militia
- *Bradigan, Daniel, Lieutenant, Philadelphia City Militia
- Brady, Christopher, Lieutenant, Stephenson's Va. Rifle Regiment
- Brady, David, Surgeon, Georgia Continental Brigade
- Brady, John, Captain, 12th Regiment, Penna. Line
- Brady, John, Major, Northumberland County, Pa., Militia
- Brady, James, Captain, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- Brady, Joseph, Captain, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- Brady, Samuel, Captain, 8th Regiment, Penna. Line
- Brady, William, Captain, Stephenson's Va. Rifle Regiment
- Bradey, William, Lieutenant, Georgia Continental Brigade
- Brady, ———, Captain, Morgan's Rifle Corps
- Brannon, Benjamin, Lieutenant-Colonel, Chester County, Pa., Militia
- Brannon, B., Lieutenant, Georgia Brigade, Continental Line
- Bohan, Joseph, Captain, Pulaski Legion (Ga.)
- Breslin, Thomas, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- Bradley, Daniel, Lieutenant, 5th Regiment, Connecticut Line
- Bradley, Daniel, Captain, Lancaster County, Pa., Militia
- Broderick, James, Captain, Spencer's Regiment, N. J. Line
- Broderick, ———, Captain, Sussex County, N. J., Militia
- Brandon, John, Major, Rowan County, N. C., Troops
- Brandon, Thomas, Lieutenant, 12th Regiment, Penna. Line
- Brandon, Thomas, Captain, South Carolina Militia
- Brandon, William, Lieutenant, 1st Regiment, N. C. Line
- Bulger, Edward, Major, Kentucky troops
- Bulger, John, Captain, Kentucky troops
- *Bourke, James, Captain, Privateer *Neptune*, Mass. Naval Service
- *Bourke, Thomas, Captain, 4th Maryland Battalion of the Flying Camp
- Burke, Adam, Lieutenant, South Carolina troops
- Burke, Edward, Captain, Patton's Regiment, Penna. Line
- Burke, Edward, Captain, 1st Regiment, Penna. Line
- Burke, Edward, Captain, 11th Regiment, Penna. Line
- Burke, Edward, Lieutenant, ship *Columbus*, Continental Navy
- Burke, Henry, Captain, Virginia Militia
- Burke, Jacob, Captain, Bucks County, Penna., Militia

- Burke, John, Captain, brigantine *Good Hope*, Mass. Navy
 Burke, John, Captain, Georgia Brigade, Continental Line
 Burke, John, Lieutenant, Lancaster County, Pa., Militia
 Burke, Lewis, Captain, Shee's Regiment, Penna. Line
 *Burke, Thomas, Colonel, North Carolina Line
 *Burke, William, Captain, Penna. State Navy
 Burke, William, Captain, ship *Warner*, Continental Navy
 Burke, John, Captain, schooner *Constitution*, Mass. Navy
 Burke, William, Captain, ship *Skyrocket*, Mass. Navy
 *Brown, Andrew, Muster-Master General, Continental Army
 Browne, John, Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish
 Brigade
 Browne, Thomas, Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon, French-
 Irish Brigade
 Butler, Charles, Lieutenant, 22d Continental Infantry, Conn.
 *Butler, Edward, Captain, 9th Regiment, Penna. Line
 Butler, Edward, Adjutant, 3d Regiment, Penna. Line
 Butler, Edward, Lieutenant, 5th Regiment, Penna. Line
 Butler, Edmond, Lieutenant, Georgia Brigade, Continental
 Line
 Butler, Henry, Captain, N. H. Militia
 Butler, James, Captain, South Carolina Militia
 Butler, James, Captain, Goshen, N. Y., Regiment
 Butler, John, Adjutant, Brewer's Massachusetts Regiment
 Butler, John, Brigadier-General, North Carolina Militia
 Butler, John, Captain, Marion's South Carolina Brigade
 Butler, John, Lieutenant-Colonel, North Carolina troops
 Butler, Joseph, Lieutenant, Smallwood's Md. Regiment of
 the Line
 Butler, Joseph, Captain, 4th Mass. Continental Infantry
 Butler, Lawrence, Captain, 14th Regiment, Virginia Line
 *Butler, Pierce, Major, South Carolina Militia
 *Butler, Percival, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, Penna. Line
 *Butler, Richard, Major-General, Continental Line
 Butler, Samuel, Lieutenant, 15th Regiment, Virginia Line
 Butler, Thomas, Lieutenant, Scammon's Mass. Regiment
 *Butler, Thomas, Captain, 3d Regiment, Penna. Line
 Butler, William, Lieutenant, Georgia Brigade, Continental
 Line

- *Butler, William, Colonel, 4th Regiment, Penna. Line
- Butler, William, Colonel, South Carolina Militia
- Byrne, Clifford, Captain, brigantine *Greyhound*, Continental Navy
- *Byrne, James, Captain, privateer *Two Esthers*, Penna. Naval Service
- *Byrne, John, Captain, Philadelphia City Militia
- Byrne, John, Captain, Thurston's Va. Regiment of the Line
- Byrne, Joseph, Ensign, Philadelphia City Militia
- *Byrne, Simon, Privateer Captain, Mass. Naval Service
- Cain, Morris, Lieutenant, Bedford County, Pa., Militia
- Callaghan, Charles, Captain, sloop *Polly*, Mass. Naval Service
- *Callaghan, William, Captain, sloop *Ranger*, Mass. Naval Service
- *Callahan, John, Lieutenant, North Carolina Militia
- Callahan, John, Privateer Captain, Mass. Naval Service
- Calanan, John, Lieutenant, Philadelphia City Artillery
- Callan, William, Lieutenant, Westmoreland County, Pa., Militia
- Calhoun, Mark, Ensign, Delaware Battalion of the Flying Camp
- Calhoun, George, Captain, 10th Regiment, Penna. Line
- *Calhoun, Patrick, Ensign, South Carolina Militia
- Calhoun, William, Lieutenant, 4th Regiment, Penna. Line
- Cannon, Luke, Lieutenant, 15th Regiment, Va. Line
- Cannon, Daniel, Captain, South Carolina Militia
- Cannon, John, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, Penna. Line
- Cannon, John, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, Va. Line
- Cannon, William, Captain, Massachusetts Militia
- *Cargill, Henry, Captain, New Hampshire troops
- Carberry, Henry, Captain, 11th Regiment, Penna. Line
- Carberry, Henry, Captain, Hartley's Maryland Regiment
- Carragen, Joseph, Captain, 8th Regiment, Penna. Line
- *Cavender, Garret, Lieutenant, Bucks County, Pa., Militia
- Carrell, ———, Captain, Chester County, Pa., Militia
- Carroll, Butler, Ensign, 10th Regiment, N. C. Line
- Carroll, John, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- Carroll, John, Ensign, York County, Pa., Militia

Carroll, Jonathan, Lieutenant, Learned's Mass. Regiment

Carnes, Patrick, Surgeon, Virginia troops

Carnes, Patrick, Lieutenant, Lee's Battalion of Light
Dragoons

Carney, Arthur, Captain, 4th Battalion, Georgia Troops

Carney, Arthur, Quartermaster, 8th Regiment, Va. Line

Carney, Martin, Lieutenant, 4th Regiment, Virginia Line

Carney, Richard, Lieutenant, Vermont State Line

Carthy, Daniel, Assistant Deputy Quartermaster-General,
Continental Army

Carty, A., Lieutenant, 5th Regiment, Penna. Line

*Casey, John, Captain, ship *Thomas*, Mass. Naval Service

Casey, John, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, Maryland Line

Casey, John, Major, Pasquotank County, N. C., troops

Casey, Benjamin, Captain, 12th Regiment, Va. State Line

Casey, Gideon, Lieutenant, 1st Rhode Island Regiment

*Casey, Thomas, Colonel, Kentucky troops

*Carr, Patrick, Major, Georgia Brigade, Continental Line

Carleton, Patrick, Lieutenant, Georgia Brigade, Continental
Line

Cantey, ———, Lieutenant, Thompson's S. C. Rangers

Carley, Peter, Ensign, 3d Regiment, N. Y. Militia

Clinton, George, Brigadier-General, New York troops

Clinton, James, Brigadier-General, Continental Army

Carnaghan, James, Lieutenant, Miles' Penna. Rifle Regiment

Cranaghan, John, Ensign, Morehead's Penna. Guards

Carnahan, William, Captain, Massachusetts Militia

Coleman, Nicholas, Lieutenant, 9th Regiment, Penna. Line

Coleman, Robert, Lieutenant, Lancaster County, Pa., Line

Coleman, Timothy, Lieutenant, Pawling's Regiment, N. Y.

Levies

*Cogan, Patrick, Lieutenant, 5th N. H. Continental Regiment

*Collins, Cornelius, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, Georgia Line

Collins, Daniel, Lieutenant, 12th Connecticut Infantry

Collins, Daniel, Lieutenant, Little's Mass. Regiment

Collins, Daniel, Captain, Connecticut Militia

Collins, Francis, Captain, New York Militia

Collins, John, Deputy Commissary of Military Stores

Collins, James, Major, Little's Mass. Regiment

- Collins, Joseph, Captain, New Jersey Militia
 Collins, Joseph, Lieutenant, 1st Regiment, Penna. Line
 Collins, Mark, Captain, Privateer, Penna. State Navy
 Collins, Robert, Captain, Privateer, Penna. State Navy
 Collins, Thomas, Colonel, Delaware Militia
 Collins, Williams, Privateer Commander, Mass. Naval Service
 Comerford, Joseph, Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
 Condry, Dennis, Privateer Commander, Mass. Naval Service
 Connell, Daniel, Lieutenant, Delaware Battalion of the Flying Camp
 Connell, Samuel, Lieutenant, Delaware Battalion of the Flying Camp
 Connelly, John, Captain, Northampton County, Pa., Militia
 *Connelly, John, Captain, Philadelphia City Artillery
 Connelly, John, Lieutenant, Philadelphia Militia
 Connelly, Michael, Lieutenant, 5th Regiment, N. Y. Line
 *Connelly, Patrick, Captain, Georgia Brigade, Continental Line
 Connelly, Robert, Captain, 4th Regiment, Penna. Line
 *Connolly, Michael, Captain, 2d Regiment, N. Y. Line
 *Connolly, Robert, Lieutenant, Shee's Regiment, Penna. Line
 *Connolly, Thomas, Captain, privateer *Nancy*, Mass. Naval Service
 Connor, Conrad, Lieutenant, Penna. Battalion of the Flying Camp
 Connor, Daniel, Lieutenant of a Georgia Regiment
 Connor, Edward, Captain, Willett's Regiment, N. Y. Levies
 Connor, Edward, Cornet, 3d Regiment Dragoons, Continental Line
 Connor, Edward, Quartermaster, Wessenfels' N. Y. Regiment
 Connor, Edward, Lieutenant, 3d Continental Dragoons (S. C.)
 Connor, John, Lieutenant, Washington County, Pa., Militia
 Connor, James, Captain, privateer *Providence*, Penna. Naval Service
 *Connor, Morgan, Lieutenant-Colonel, 11th Regiment, Penna. Line and Adjutant-General to General Washington

- Connor, Walter, Captain, privateer *St. John*, Penna. Naval Service
- Connors, Benjamin, Captain, privateer *Hyder Ally*, Mass. Naval Service
- Connors, Samuel, Lieutenant-Colonel, Wingate's N. H. Regiment
- Connor, William, Ensign, 7th Regiment, Virginia Line
- *Connors, Timothy, Quartermaster, Lancaster County, Pa., Militia
- Conners, John, Captain, Georgia Brigade, Continental Line
- Conner, William, Captain, Washington County, Pa., Militia
- Conway, Charles, Lieutenant, York County, Penna., Militia
- Conway, Francis, Lieutenant, King George County, Va., Militia
- Conway, Henry, Captain, 14th Regiment, Virginia Line
- Conway, James, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, Virginia Line
- Conway, John, Captain, 1st Battalion 1st Establishment, N. J. State troops
- Conway, John, Captain, American brigantine *Terrible*
- Conway, John, Major, 4th Battalion 2d Establishment, N. J. State troops
- Conway, John, Lieutenant-Colonel, 1st Regiment, N. J. Line
- Conway, Joseph, Captain, 15th Regiment, Va., Continental Line
- *Conway, Thomas, Brigadier-General, Continental Army
- Conville, Andrew, Captain, Virginia Militia
- Conwell, Daniel, Lieutenant, Delaware Battalion of the Flying Camp
- Conwell, Samuel, Lieutenant, Hall's Delaware Regiment
- Conwell, William, Colonel, Newcastle County, Del., Militia
- Conwell, William, Captain, Westmoreland County, Pa., Militia
- Conyers, Daniel, Captain, Marion's S. C. Brigade
- Conyers, James, Captain, South Carolina Militia
- Coburn, Peter, Captain, Bridge's Massachusetts Regiment
- Coghlan, Terence, Captain, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- Cotter, John, Lieutenant, 10th Regiment, Virginia Line
- Coughlan, Richard, Quartermaster, Reed's N. H. Regiment
- Coughlin, Richard, Lieutenant, 2d Continental Artillery

- Coughran, John, Lieutenant, Penna. Battalion of the Flying Camp
- Convey, Peter, Lieutenant, Monmouth County, N. J., Militia
- *Cosgrove, Joseph, Lieutenant, Monmouth County, N. J., Militia
- *Costigan, Francis, Lieutenant, 1st Battalion 1st Establishment, N. J. State troops
- Costigan, Lewis J., Lieutenant, 1st Battalion 2d Establishment, N. J. State troops
- *Cronan, Patrick, Lieutenant, Malcom's Regiment, N. Y. Levies
- *Crowley, Florence, Lieutenant, 3d Massachusetts Artillery
- *Constable, William, Aide-de-Camp to General Lafayette
- *Cox, Paul, Captain, Pennsylvania Navy
- Coyle, Samuel, Ensign, Bedford County, Pa., Militia
- Coyle, Thomas, Lieutenant, 5th South Carolina Regiment
- *Croghan, William, Major, Virginia Continental Line
- Cruise, Walter, Captain, 6th Regiment, Penna. Line
- *Craig, Isaac, Captain, Proctor's Pennsylvania Artillery
- *Cross, William, Lieutenant (regiment unknown—served in invasion of Canada in 1775)
- Cruise, James, Sub-Lieutenant, Regiment de Walsh, French-Irish Brigade
- *Courtenay, Hercules, Captain, Proctor's Pennsylvania Artillery
- Cullen, Charles, Lieutenant, 7th Regiment, Dutchess County, N. Y., Militia
- Cummins, Daniel, Lieutenant, Newcastle County, Del., Militia
- Cummins, John, Lieutenant, Chester County, Penna., Militia
- Cummins, John, Lieutenant, Westmoreland County, Pa., Militia
- Cummins, Robert, Surgeon, Sussex County, N. J., Militia
- Cummins, William, Lieutenant, Heard's New Jersey Brigade
- Cummings, John, Captain, Privateer, Penna. State Navy
- Cunningham, Arthur, Ensign, Chester County, Penna., Militia
- Cunningham, Andrew, Lieutenant, Lancaster County, Penna., Militia
- *Conyngham, Cornelius, Lieutenant, 2d N. Y. Continental Artillery

- *Conyngham, Gustavus, Captain, Penna. State Navy
 Cunningham, Henry, Lieutenant, Lamb's Artillery
 Cunningham, James, Colonel, Lancaster County, Pa., Militia
 Cunningham, John, Major, Georgia Brigade, Continental Line
 Cunningham, John, Lieutenant, Lancaster County, Pa., Militia
 Cunningham, Paul, Ensign, North Carolina troops
 Cunningham, Peter, Ensign, 3d Regiment, Penna. Line
 Cunningham, Robert, Lieutenant, 1st Regiment, Penna. Line
 Cunningham, William, Major, Virginia Line
- Daley, Daniel, Captain, 1st South Carolina Regiment
 Daley, Joshua, Lieutenant, 7th North Carolina Regiment
- *Dayley, Dennis, Lieutenant, Bucks County, Penna., Militia
 Dalton, Jeremiah, Privateer Commander, Mass. Naval Service
 Dalton, Joseph, Captain, 3d Continental Artillery (N. J.)
 Dalton, Michael, Privateer Commander, Mass. Naval Service
 Dalton, Thomas V., Captain, 4th Maryland Battalion of the Flying Camp
 Dalton, Valentine, Lieutenant, Clark's Illinois Regiment
 Dealey, John, Lieutenant, Brigantine *Sturdy Beggar*, Mass.
 Davin, Richard, Ensign, York County, Penna., Militia
 D'Arcy, James, Captain, Regiment de Walsh, French-Irish Brigade
 D'Arcy, John, Surgeon's Mate, 2d Regiment, N. J. Line
 D'Arcy, Lewis, Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
 Darrah, Henry, Captain, Bucks County, Penna., Militia
- *Darragh, Daniel, Ensign, 9th Regiment, Penna. Line
 Darragh, Charles, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, Penna. Line
 Darragh, Henry, Lieutenant, Penna. Battalion of the Flying Camp
 Demsey, Joseph, Lieutenant, Philadelphia City Militia
 Dempsey, William, Ensign, Chester County, Penna., Militia
 Dempsey, William, Ensign, Penna. Battalion of the Flying Camp
 DeCourcy, Edward, Lieutenant, Veazey's Independent Maryland Company
 Deevy, Thomas, Lieutenant, Bedford County, Penna., Militia

- *Delany, Sharp, Colonel, 2d Pennsylvania Regiment
- Dennis, Daniel, Lieutenant, 10th Regiment, Penna. Line
- Dennis, Patrick, Lieutenant, Rutgers' N. Y. Artillery
- *Denny, James, Captain, Chester County, Penna., Line
- Denny, Robert, Lieutenant, Bedford County, Penna., Militia
- Denny, Walter, Captain, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- Denny, William, Lieutenant, Chester County, Penna., Militia
- Devinny, Andrew, Major, Bedford County, Penna., Militia
- Devinny, William, Lieutenant, Bedford County, Penna., Militia
- Dennison, Daniel, Lieutenant, 1st Regiment, N. Y. Line
- *Dennison, James, Captain, 4th Regiment, Albany County, N. Y., Militia
- *Dillon, Count Arthur, Colonel, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- *Dillon, Bartholomew, Lieutenant-Colonel, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- Dillon, Benjamin, Lieutenant, 7th Regiment, N. C. Line
- Dillon, James, Lieutenant, 7th Regiment, N. C. Line
- Dillon, James, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, N. C. Line
- Dillon, James, Captain, 2d Battalion, 2d Establishment, N. J. State troops
- Dillon, John, Lieutenant, 10th Regiment, N. C. Line
- Dillon, Morris, Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- *Dillon, Theobald, *Colonel-en-seconde*, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- *Divver, Anthony, Captain, ship *Cicero*, Mass. Navy
- Dobbins, Hugh, Lieutenant, 9th Regiment, N. C. Line
- *Donaldson, John, Captain, brigantine *Captain*, Mass. Navy
- Doherty, George, Major, Georgia Brigade, Continental Line
- Doherty, George, Major, 6th Regiment, N. C. Line
- Doherty, James, Major, South Carolina Militia
- *Dougherty, Bernard, Lieutenant-Colonel, Bedford County, Pa., Militia
- Dougherty, Charles, Lieutenant, 6th Continental Infantry (Mass.)
- Dougherty, Henry, Captain, Pennsylvania Navy

- *Dougherty, John, Lieutenant, Magaw's Penna. Rifle Regiment
- Dougherty, John, Captain, 1st Regiment, Penna. Line
- Dougherty, John, Ensign, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- *Dougherty, Michael, Lieutenant, 6th Regiment, Maryland Line
- Dougherty, Michael, Lieutenant, 13th Mass. Regiment
- Donohoe, Thomas, Major, 6th Regiment, N. C. Line
- Dongan, Thomas, Colonel, Randolph County, Va., Militia
- Dongan, Thomas, Lieutenant, 6th Regiment, Penna. Line
- Donovan, Richard, Lieutenant, 6th Regiment, Md. Line
- *Donovan, Matthew, Major, 9th Regiment, Virginia Line
- Dooley, George, Lieutenant, 3d Regiment, Georgia Line
- Donlevy, James, Ensign, 1st Regiment, Virginia State Line
- *Dooley, John, Colonel, Georgia Continental Brigade
- Dooley, Thomas, Captain, 3d Regiment, Georgia Line
- Dooley, John, Captain, 1st Regiment, Georgia Line
- Dulin, Henry, Lieutenant, Georgia Continental Brigade
- Dooley, Thomas, Captain, Virginia Militia
- Dugan, James, Ensign, Penna. State Regiment of Foot
- Dugan, John, Lieutenant, Philadelphia City Guards
- Dugan, Thomas, Captain, Georgia Continental Brigade
- Dugan, Thomas, Paymaster, Bedford County, Pa., Militia
- Dugan, Thomas, Ensign, 6th Regiment, Penna. Line
- *Dugan, Jeremiah, Major, Battalion of Rangers
- Dugan, James, Ensign, 13th Regiment, Penna. Line
- Duggan, John, Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- Duffy, Hugh, Ensign, Lancaster County, Penna., Militia
- *Duffy, Timothy, Surgeon's Mate, Hazen's Continental Regiment
- *Duffy, Patrick, Captain, Proctor's Pennsylvania Artillery
- Dorrance, David, Captain, 5th Regiment, Connecticut Line
- Dorrance, George, Lieutenant-Colonel, Connecticut Militia
- Dorrance, George, Lieutenant, Hitchcock's R. I. Regiment
- Dowling, David, Captain, Philadelphia County Militia
- *Dunning, Michael, Lieutenant, Warner's N. H. Continental Regiment
- Doyle, John, Captain, 6th Regiment, Penna. Line

*Doyle, Thomas, Lieutenant, 6th Regiment, Penna. Line
 Doyle, William, Commander of Pennsylvania Frontier troops
 Downey, Daniel, Lieutenant of a South Carolina Regiment
 Downey, John, Captain, Philadelphia City Militia
 Downey, John, Captain, 11th Regiment, Penna. Line
 Downey, Sylvester, Surgeon's Mate, 9th Regiment, Penna. Line

Downey, Thomas, Quartermaster, 6th Regiment, Penna. Line
 Downey, Thomas, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, Penna. Line
 Doran, Morris, Captain, sloop *Polly*, Mass. Naval Service
 Donnahou, George, Ensign, Philadelphia City Militia
 Donnell, James, Captain, 12th Massachusetts Regiment
 Donnell, Nathaniel, Captain, Stevens' N. Y. Artillery
 Donnell, Timothy, Ensign, 1st Massachusetts Regiment
 Danelly, Patrick, Lieutenant, 1st Regiment, Maryland Line
 *Donnally, Andrew, Colonel, Botetourt County, Va., Militia
 Donnelly, Patrick, Lieutenant, 7th Regiment, Maryland Line
 Donley, Moses, Lieutenant, Bedford County, Penna., Militia
 *Driscoll, Darby, Lieutenant, brigantine *Civil Usage*, Mass.

Navy

Driskell, Joseph, Lieutenant, Stevens' N. Y. Artillery
 Driskill, John, Lieutenant, 3d Mass. Artillery
 *Drennan, William, Captain, Cumberland, County, Pa., Militia
 Downing, Timothy, Captain, Washington County, Pa., Militia
 Doudel, Michael, Captain, Thompson's Battalion of Penna.

Riflemen

Dungan, Garrett, Captain, Bucks County, Penna., Militia
 Dungan, John, Lieutenant, Miles' Penna. Rifle Regiment
 Dungan, Thomas, Paymaster, 12th Regiment, Penna. Line
 Dungan, Thomas, Jr., Lieutenant, Bucks County, Pa., Militia
 Dunn, Jeremiah, Lieutenant, Thompson's New Jersey Battalion
 Dunn, James, Captain, Middlesex County, N. J., Militia
 Dunn, James, Captain, Chester County, Penna., Militia
 Dunn, James, Captain, Patterson's Battalion of the Delaware Flying Camp
 Dunn, John, Lieutenant, Wynkoop's Regiment, N. Y. Militia
 Dunn, John, Major, Essex County, N. J., Militia

Dunn, John, Quartermaster, Northampton County, Pa.,
Militia

*Dunn, Peter, Lieutenant, 6th Regiment, Virginia Line

Dunn, Samuel, Captain, Phinney's Massachusetts Regiment

Dunn, Thomas, Captain, *Charming Molly*, Mass. Naval Service

Dunwoody, Hugh, Lieutenant, York County, Penna., Militia

Dunwoody, David, Lieutenant, Chester County, Pa., Militia

Dunwoody, Robert, Lieutenant, Chester County, Pa., Militia

Dunwoody, Thomas, Lieutenant, Chester County, Pa., Militia

Dunlevy, Francis, Lieutenant, Penna. troops under command
of Colonel William Crawford

Dorsey, Daniel, Ensign, 3d Battalion Maryland Flying Camp

Dorsey, John, Surgeon's Mate, 3d Battalion Md. Flying
Camp

Dorsey, John W., Lieutenant, 3d Battalion Maryland Flying
Camp

Dorsey, Nicholas, Lieutenant, 4th Regiment, Maryland Line

Dorsey, Richard, Lieutenant, Moylan's 4th Dragoons

Dorsey, Thomas, Captain, Moylan's 4th Dragoons

Ennis, Daniel, Ensign, Sussex County, N. J., Militia

Ennis, William, Lieutenant, Olney's R. I. Battalion

Farley, Joseph, Lieutenant, 5th Regiment, Va. Line

Fanning, Charles, Lieutenant, 4th Connecticut Regiment

Fanning, John, Captain, ship *Trojan*, Penna. State Navy

Fanning, John, Surgeon's Mate, Conn. Hospital Department

Fanning, Thomas, Quartermaster, 17th Continental Infantry

Farrell, ———, Adjutant, Virginia troops

Farrell, John, Conductor of Military Stores, Penna. Line

Ferrall, M., Ensign, 9th Regiment, N. C. Line

Ferrell, Luke M., Lieutenant, 10th Regiment, N. C. Line

Ferrell, William, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, N. C. Line

Ferrell, Simon, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, N. Y.,
Militia

Ferrell, Thomas, Captain, Georgia Continental Brigade

Farris, John, Commander of Privateers, Mass. Naval Service

Farley, Andrew, Captain, Washington County, Pa., Militia

- Fay, Joseph, Lieutenant, 3d Regiment, N. H. Line
 Feeley, Timothy, Lieutenant, 3d Regiment, Va. Line
 *Fegan, Lawrence, Quartermaster, 9th Regiment, Pa. Line
 Fennell, John, Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish
 Brigade
 Fergus, James, Surgeon, 1st Regiment, N. C. Line
 Finney, Thomas, Lieutenant, 1st Regiment, N. C. Line
 Finn, John, Captain, South Carolina Artillery
 Finn, Thomas, Lieutenant, 1st Virginia Artillery
 Finley, Andrew, Lieutenant, 8th Regiment, Penna. Line
 *Finley, John, Lieutenant, 8th Regiment, Penna. Line
 Finley, John H., Lieutenant, 8th Regiment, Penna. Line
 Finley, Joseph I., Captain, 13th Regiment, Penna. Line
 *Finley, Samuel, Lieutenant, Proctor's Penna. Artillery
 Finley, Samuel, Surgeon, 14th Massachusetts Regiment
 Finley, Samuel, Major, 7th Regiment, Virginia Line
 Finley, Thomas, Captain, Pennsylvania Navy
 Fitzgerald, Benjamin, Lieutenant, 9th Regiment, Pa. Line
 Fitzgerald, Bartley, Ensign, Westmoreland County, Pa.,
 Militia
 Fitzgerald, Edward, Sub-Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon,
 French-Irish Brigade
 *Fitzgerald, John, Captain, South Carolina Militia
 Fitzgerald, John, Captain, 2d Regiment, Virginia Line
 *Fitzgerald, John, Major, 9th Regiment, Virginia Line
 Fitzgerald, John Henry, Captain, 3d Regiment, Va. Line
 Fitzgerald, Thomas, Midshipman, Continental Frigate *Trum-
 bull*
 Fitzgerald, William, Lieutenant, Florida and Warwick,
 N. Y., Regiment
 Fitzgerald, William, Captain, Virginia Militia
 Fitzgerald, ———, Captain, Sussex County, N. J., Militia
 *Fitzpatrick, Patrick, Captain, Georgia Continental Brigade
 Fitzpatrick, William, Lieutenant, Thompson's S. C. Rangers
 *FitzSimmons, Nicholas, Lieutenant, Pennsylvania Navy
 *FitzSimmons, Thomas, Captain, Philadelphia City Militia
 Flahavan, John, Lieutenant, 1st Battalion 1st Establish-
 ment, N. J. State Troops

- Flahavan, John, Captain, 1st Regiment, N. J. Continental Line
- Flanagan, Samuel, Captain, 3d Battalion 1st Establishment N. J. State Troops
- *Flanagan, William, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- Flinn, James, Quartermaster, Colonel Foster's Mass. Regiment
- Flinn, John, Ensign, Colonel Malcom's N. Y. Regiment of the Line
- *Flinn, John, Captain, Philadelphia City Militia
- Fling, Lemuel, Lieutenant, 3d Regiment, Connecticut Line
- Flood, Daniel, Captain, Stickney's N. H. Regiment
- *Fogarty, Joseph, Lieutenant, South Carolina Militia
- Foley, Mason, Captain, South Carolina Militia
- Fox, Jeremiah, Lieutenant, Proctor's Penna. Artillery
- Fox, Michael, Ensign, Bedford County, Penna., Militia
- Forrester, James, Captain, Hartley's Regiment, Penna. Line
- *Forrester, Simon, Captain, Ship *Rover*, Mass. Navy
- *Fullerton, Patrick, Lieutenant, Penna. State Regiment of Foot
- Fullerton, Edward, Surgeon, Penna. Battalion of the Flying Camp
- Fullerton, Richard, Captain, 3d Regiment, Penna. Line
- Frailey, Peter, Captain, Philadelphia County, Pa., Militia
- Ford, Peter, Captain, York County, Penna., Militia
- *Gallagher, Bernard, Privateer Captain, Virginia Navy
- Gallagher, Bernard, Captain, ship *Batchelor*, Penna. State Navy
- Gallagher, Charles, Captain, Frederick County, Va., Militia
- Gallahue, Charles, Captain, Morgan's Rifle Corps
- Garvan, Edward, Lieutenant, Georgia Continental Brigade
- Garvin, James, Lieutenant, Colonel Wingate's N. H. Regiment
- Gallagher, ———, Lieutenant, Philadelphia County, Pa., Militia
- Garrett, Andrew, Lieutenant, 6th Regiment, Mass. Line
- Garrett, John, Captain, Delaware Militia

- Garrett, Joseph, Ensign, Washington County, Pa., Militia
Garrett, Nicholas, Lieutenant, 6th Regiment, Penna. Line
*Geary, James, Ensign, York County, Penna., Militia
Geary, John, Ensign, 1st Regiment, N. J. Line
Geary, William, Lieutenant, 8th Regiment, Penna. Line
Gaston, Hugh, Lieutenant, Northampton County, Pa.,
Militia
Gaston, Alexander, Lieutenant, Georgia Continental Brigade
Gaston, William, Lieutenant, Northampton County, Pa.,
Militia
*Geoghegan, John, Ensign, 6th Regiment, Maryland Line
Gillespie, Christopher, Captain, Northumberland County,
Pa., Militia
Gillespie, Henry, Ensign, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
Gillespie, Charles, Lieutenant, 6th Regiment, Penna. Line
Gillespie, Robert, Lieutenant, 4th Regiment, N. C. Line
Gillespie, William, Lieutenant-Colonel, Georgia Continental
Brigade
Gillespy, Samuel, Lieutenant, 4th Regiment, Ulster County,
N. Y., Militia
Gilliland, David, Lieutenant, Middlesex County, N. J., Militia
Gilliland, James, Lieutenant, Chester County, Penna., Militia
*Gilliland, James, Captain, N. Y. Regiment of Sappers and
Miners
Gilliland, William, Lieutenant-Colonel, York County, Pa.,
Militia
*Gilliland, William, Lieutenant, 1st Regiment, New York Line
Gillelan, Samuel, Lieutenant, York County, Penna., Militia
Gibbons, John, Surgeon, Chester County, Penna., Militia
Gibbons, James, Lieutenant, Shee's Regiment, Penna. Line
Gibbons, James, Lieutenant, 4th Pennsylvania Battalion
Gibbons, James, Lieutenant, 6th Regiment, Penna. Line
Gibbons, Philip, Lieutenant, 6th Regiment, Penna. Line
Gibbons, William, Colonel, Chester County, Penna., Militia
Gill, Thomas, Captain, South Carolina Militia
Gill, William, Lieutenant, Northumberland County, Pa.,
Militia
Gilmore, George, Captain, 16th Regiment, N. Y. Militia
Gilmore, James, Captain, South Carolina Militia

- Gilmore, William, Lieutenant, Brewer's Massachusetts Regiment
- Gilmore, Hugh, Lieutenant, Westmoreland County, Pa., Militia
- Glahan, James, Captain, 7th Regiment, N. C. Line
- Gillon, Alexander, Captain, South Carolina Militia
- Gleason, Timothy, Quartermaster, Colonel Mooney's N. H. Regiment
- Gilmore, Roger, Captain, Heald's N. H. Battalion
- Gilmore, James, Captain, Hale's New Hampshire Volunteers
- *Goffe, John, Major, Colonel Daniel Moore's N. H. Regiment
- Grady, Elisha, Ensign, York County, Penna., Militia
- Gorman, Joseph, Ensign, New Jersey Militia
- Gorman, Joseph, Ensign, 13th Regiment, Penna. Line
- Grattan, John, Lieutenant, 8th Regiment, Virginia Line
- Griffin, Daniel, Captain, 3d Regiment, New York Line
- Griffin, John, Lieutenant, 7th Regiment, N. H. Line
- *Greateon, John, Colonel, Heath's Mass. Regiment and Brigadier-General Continental Line
- Gurney, Francis, Captain, Philadelphia City Militia
- Griffin, Stephen, Ensign, 2d Regiment, New York Line
- Hafferty, Edward, Lieutenant, Westmoreland County, Pa., Militia
- Haggerty, John, Captain, Venango County, Pa., Rangers
- *Haley, Martin, Captain, Virginia Continental Line
- *Hailey, Patrick, Captain, Bedford County, Penna., Militia
- Hand, Daniel, Captain, Connecticut Militia
- *Hand, Edward, Brigadier-General, Continental Army
- Handy, Henry, Lieutenant-Colonel, New Jersey Militia
- Hand, John, Major, New Jersey Militia
- Handy, George, Lieutenant, Lee's Battalion of Light Dragoons
- Handy, John, Quartermaster, Richmond's and Tallman's R. I. Regiment
- Hannon, Matthew, Lieutenant, Washington County, Pa., Militia
- *Hare, Patrick, Privateer Captain, Mass. Naval Service
- *Haslett, John, Colonel, Delaware Regiment of the Line

- Hart, Daniel, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
 Hart, John, Lieutenant, 6th Regiment, N. C. Line
 Haviland, John, Lieutenant, Essex County, N. J., Militia
 Harney, Stephen, Lieutenant-Colonel, 2d Regiment, N. C. Line
 Hayes, Arthur, Lieutenant, 3d Regiment, Georgia Line
 Hayes, Christopher, Lieutenant, Westmoreland County, Pa., Militia
 Hayes, George, Captain, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
 Hayes, James, Lieutenant, 7th Regiment, N. C. Line
 Hayes, Hugh, Lieutenant, Gloucester County, Va., Militia
 *Hayes, John, Lieutenant, Northampton County, Pa., Militia
 Hayes, John, Ensign, Gloucester County, Va., Militia
 Hayes, Joseph, Colonel, South Carolina Militia
 Hayes, Robert, Lieutenant, 1st Regiment, N. C. Line
 Hayes, Robert, Lieutenant, 10th Regiment, N. C. Line
 Hayes, Robert, Lieutenant, Northampton County, Pa., Militia
 Hayes, Samuel, Major, Essex County, N. J., Militia
 Hayes, Thomas, Lieutenant, New Jersey Line
 Hayes, Thomas, Lieutenant, Maryland Battalion Flying Camp
 Hayes, Thomas, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, Virginia Line
 Hayes, Patrick, Captain, Lancaster County, Penna., Militia
 *Healey, Martin, Captain of a Virginia State Regiment
 Healey, Nathaniel, Captain, Learned's Massachusetts Regiment
 *Heggarty, Jeremiah, Captain, privateer *Languedoc*, Mass. Navy
 Hennion, Cornelius, Captain, 3d Battalion 2d Establishment, N. J. State troops
 Herron, James, Captain, Congress' Own Regiment (N. J.)
 Hallanan, John, Lieutenant, Phila. City Artillery
 Higgins, Cornelius, Lieutenant, 5th Regiment, Conn. Line
 *Higgins, Cornelius, Captain, 5th Battalion, Wadsworth's Brigade
 Higgins, Cornelius, Jr., Lieutenant, 1st Regiment, Conn. Line
 Higgins, Gabriel, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, Ulster County, N. Y., Militia

- Higgins, James, Captain, 8th Regiment, Virginia Line
 Higgins, John, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, N. J. Line
 Higgins, Joseph, Surgeon's Mate, 5th Regiment, Conn. Line
 Higgins, Peter, Lieutenant, 4th Regiment, Va. Line
 Higgins, Robert, Captain, 8th Regiment, Virginia Line
 Higgins, ———, Lieutenant, Bedford County, Pa., Militia
 Higgins, Sylvanus, Ensign, 1st Regiment, Conn. Line
 Higgins, William, Lieutenant, 1st Regiment, Conn. Line
 Higgins, William, Midshipman, *Oliver Cromwell*, Conn. Navy
 Higgins, William, Quartermaster, 3d Regiment, Conn. Line
 Hines, Ambrose, Lieutenant, Douglas' Conn. State Regiment
 *Hynes, Andrew, Captain, 6th Regiment, Maryland Line
 Hynes, William, Lieutenant, Bucks County, Penna., Militia
 Hynes, William, Ensign, Hart's Penna. Battalion Flying
 Camp
 Hines, Thomas, Major, Wake County, N. C., Troops
 Hynes, ———, Captain, Philadelphia County, Pa., Militia
 *Hill, Hugh, Captain, privateer *Pilgrim*, Mass. Navy
 Hoey, Benjamin, Lieutenant, Penna. Artillery Artificers
 *Huey, Martin, Captain, Lancaster County, Penna., Militia
 *Heard, Stephen, Captain, Georgia Continental Brigade
 Holland, Thomas, Ensign, Haslett's Delaware Regiment
 Hurley, James, Lieutenant, N. J. Continental Line
 *Hurley, Martin, Ensign, 1st Battalion 2d Establishment,
 N. J. State Troops
 Hogan, Francis, Ensign, 14th Regiment, N. Y. Militia
 Hogan, George, Lieutenant, 13th Regiment, Albany County,
 N. Y., Militia
 Hogan, Henry, Lieutenant, 1st Regiment, Orange County,
 N. Y., Militia
 Hogan, Henry, Ensign, 1st Regiment, Albany County, N. Y.
 Hogan, James, Colonel, 7th Regiment, N. C. Line and Briga-
 dier-General Continental Army
 *Hogan, Lawrence, Captain, sloop *Success*, Mass. Naval Serv-
 ice
 Hogan, ——— Dr., Surgeon-in-Chief, Sullivan's Expedition
 of 1779
 *Hogan, James, Paymaster, 3d Regiment, N. C. Line
 Hogan, John, Colonel, Orange County, N. C., Troops

Hogan, Jurian, Captain, 5th Regiment, Albany County.
N. Y., Militia

Hogan, Philip, Hospital Physician and Surgeon, S. C.

Hogan, ———, Captain, 5th Regiment, S. C. Line

Hogan, ———, Captain, 5th Regiment, Georgia Line

Hughes, Timothy, Captain, Livingston's Regiment, N. Y.
Line

Hunter, Patrick, Captain, Westmoreland County, Pa.,
Militia

Hussey, John, Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish
Brigade

Hyland, John, Lieutenant, Maryland Militia

Irvine, Matthew, Captain, Malcom's Regiment, N. Y. Line

*Irvine, Mathew, Surgeon, Lee's Battalion of Light Dragoons

*Irvine, James, Lieutenant-Colonel, 9th Regiment, Pa. Line

*Irvine, William, Colonel, 7th Regiment, Penna. Line and
Brigadier-General Continental Line

Jordan, John, Captain, Penna. Artillery Artificers

Jordan, William, Lieutenant, Georgia Continental Brigade

*Johnston, Francis, Lieutenant-Colonel, 4th Penna. Battalion

*Kean, John, Captain, Dauphin County, Penna., Militia

Keating, William, Lieutenant, Regiment de Walsh, French-
Irish Brigade

Kelley, Aaron, Captain, 17th Regiment, N. Y. Militia

Kelley, David, Lieutenant, 3d Regiment, Worcester County,
Mass.

Kelley, David, Lieutenant, Colonel Rand's Mass. Regiment

Kelley, Daniel, Lieutenant, Georgia Continental Brigade

Kelley, David, Lieutenant, 2d New Hampshire Regiment

*Kelley, Dennis, Lieutenant and Adjutant, 4th Regiment,
Va. Line

Kelley, John, Lieutenant. Florida and Warwick, N. Y., Regi-
ment

Kelley, John, Captain, Salem County, N. J., Militia

Kelley, Moses, Colonel, New Hampshire Militia

Kelley, Samuel, Lieutenant, New Hampshire Militia

Kelley, William, Lieutenant, Shepard's Battalion of Va.
Riflemen

Kelley, William, Captain, Hartley's Regiment, Penna. Line

*Kelley, William, Lieutenant, Lancaster County, Pa., Militia

Kelly, Abram, Captain, Boykin's South Carolina Rangers

Kelly, Daniel, Lieutenant, South Carolina Militia

Kelly, James, Lieutenant, South Carolina Militia

Kelly, John, Sub-Lieutenant Regiment de Walsh, French-
Irish Brigade

Kelly, John, Colonel, Pennsylvania Militia

Kelly, Joseph, Major, Colonel Sargent's Mass. Regiment

*Kelly, Matthew, Lieutenant, Bedford County, Penna., Militia

*Kelly, Michael, Ensign, Chester County, Penna., Militia

Kelly, Moses, Lieutenant, Bucks County, Penna., Militia

Kelly, Moses, Muster-Master, Wyman's N. H. Regiment

Kelly, John, Captain, Morris County, N. J., Militia

Kelly, Robert, Lieutenant, Colonel Dike's Mass. Regiment

Kelly, Samuel, Lieutenant, Colonel Gilman's N. H. Regiment

Kelly, Samuel, Lieutenant, Colonel Mooney's N. H. Regiment

*Kelly, Thady, Captain, Virginia State Line

Kelly, William, Lieutenant, Bedford County, Penna., Militia

Kelly, William, Ensign, Northampton County, Pa., Militia

Kelly, William, Captain, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish
Brigade

Kaley, Robert, Lieutenant, 5th Regiment, Worcester County,
Mass.

Kenna, A., Ensign, Stanton's Rhode Island Regiment

Kenrick, Daniel, Captain, New Hampshire Militia

Keane, Roger, Privateer Captain, Pennsylvania Navy

Keane, Thomas, Captain, Colonel Neill's Delaware Regiment

Keene, Lawrence, Captain, 11th Regiment, Penna. Line

Keene, Samuel, Surgeon's Mate, Maryland Line

Kain, Thomas, Lieutenant, Chester County, Penna., Militia

*Kearns, Daniel, Ensign, Westmoreland County, Pa., Militia

Kerns, William, Lieutenant, Westmoreland County, Pa.,
Militia

Kerns, William, Ensign, Northampton County, Pa., Militia

Keeley, Mathias, Lieutenant, Philadelphia City Militia

*Kehoe, John, Captain, privateer *Centipede*, Mass. Navy

- Keeler, Thaddeus, Lieutenant, 5th Regiment, Conn. Line
Kellinan, John, Lieutenant, Philadelphia City Artillery
Kearney, James, Lieutenant, Hartley's Additional Regiment
(Pa.)
Kearney, John, Lieutenant, Northampton County, Pa.,
Militia
Kerney, John, Captain, Virginia State Line
Kenney, Abraham, Lieutenant, New Jersey Militia
Kenney, James, Lieutenant, 5th Regiment, S. C. Line
Kenney, Peter, Lieutenant, Sussex County, N. J., Militia
Kenney, Samuel, Lieutenant, Penna. State Regiment of Foot
Kenny, James, Captain, Hartley's Regiment, Penna. Line
Kenan, James, Colonel, Duplin County, N. C., Militia
Kennon, John, Lieutenant, 6th Regiment, N. C. Line
Kennon, John, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, Virginia Line
Kennon, Richard, Lieutenant, 5th Regiment, Virginia Line
Kennon, William, Lieutenant, 1st Regiment, N. C. Line
Kennessey, John, Captain, Privateer, Penna. Navy
Keran, Edward, Lieutenant, 13th Regiment, N. C. Line
Kernaghan, John, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, Ulster County,
N. Y., Militia
Kennedy, Andrew, Lieutenant, Philadelphia City Militia
Kennedy, Daniel, Adjutant, 6th Regiment, Penna. Line
Kennedy, James, Lieutenant, 1st South Carolina Regiment
Kennedy, James, Adjutant, Virginia Militia
Kennedy, John, Lieutenant, Florida and Warwick, N. Y.,
Regiment
Kennedy, John, Lieutenant, 15th Massachusetts Regiment
Kennedy, Joseph, Ensign of a Virginia Regiment
Kennedy, I. bert, Captain, South Carolina Militia
Kennedy, Samuel, Captain, 7th Regiment, Penna. Line
Kennedy, Samuel, Surgeon, 4th Regiment, Penna. Line
Kennedy, Thomas, Captain, North Carolina Militia
Kennedy, Thomas, Captain, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
Kennedy, William, Major, Bucks County, Penna., Militia
Killen, Mark, Lieutenant, Newcastle County, Del., Militia
Kilty, John, Captain, Virginia Continental Line
Kilty, John, Captain, 3d Continental Dragoons (Md.)
Kilty, William, Surgeon, 4th Regiment, Maryland Line

Kilpatrick, William, Ensign, 24th Continental Infantry
(Mass.)

- *Knox, James, Captain, Clark's Illinois Regiment
- Kurtan, Peter, Ensign, Nicholson's Conn. Regiment
- Kyle, John, Captain, Westmoreland County, Pa., Militia
- Kyle, Robert, Ensign, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- Kyle, William, Lieutenant, 7th Regiment, Penna. Line

- *Lawler, Matthew, Privateer Captain, Penna. Navy
- Lawler, Thomas, Quartermaster, 3d Regiment, Va. Line
- Lawless, William, Lieutenant, Tallman's R. I. Regiment
- Lacey, Daniel, Captain, Connecticut Guards
- Lane, Cornelius, Captain, Hunterdon County, N. J., Militia
- Larty, John, Captain, Virginia Line
- *Lawrie, James, Captain, 1st Regiment, N. J. Line
- Laughery, Jeremiah, Captain, 6th Regiment, Penna. Line
- Laughlin, John, Ensign, Cumberland County, Penna., Militia
- Laughlin, James, Ensign, Gloucester County, Va., Militia
- Lavery, Henry, Ensign, Bedford County, Penna., Militia
- *Lewis, Andrew, Brigadier-General, Continental Army
- Lewis, Andrew, Lieutenant, 9th Regiment, Penna. Line
- *Lewis, Charles, Colonel, Virginia Troops
- *Lewis, John, Lieutenant, 9th Regiment, Virginia Line
- *Lewis, Thomas, Lieutenant, 11th Regiment, Va. Line
- *Lewis, William, Major, 10th Regiment, Va. Line
- Leamy, John, Captain, ship *Adventure*, Penna. Navy
- Leary, James, Lieutenant, Colonel Brooks' Mass. Regiment
- Leary, James, Lieutenant, 8th Regiment Continental Line
(Mass.)
- Leary, William, Lieutenant, New Jersey Militia
- *Leary, William, Town Major of New York and Lieutenant of
Militia
- Larey, John, Lieutenant, 7th Massachusetts Regiment
- Lary, ———, Captain, Bradley's N. H. Militia
- Logue, James, Lieutenant, York County, Penna., Militia
- Lowney, Thomas, Lieutenant-Colonel, Hunterdon County,
N. J., Militia
- Lochry, Jeremiah, Captain, Westmoreland County, Pa.,
Militia

- Logan, Benjamin, Colonel, Kentucky Troops
 Logan, David, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
 Logan, George, Captain, South Carolina troops
 Logan, Francis, Captain, South Carolina Militia
 *Logan, Samuel, Major, 5th Regiment, New York Line
 Logan, Samuel, Captain, South Carolina Militia
 Logan, Thomas, Ensign, Nicholson's Conn. Regiment
 Logan, Thomas, Ensign, Lancaster County, Pa., Militia
 Logan, William, Captain, Somerset County, N. J., Militia
 Long, Andrew, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
 Long, Gabriel, Captain, 11th Regiment, Virginia Line
 Long, Hugh, Captain, Hart's Penna. Battalion of the Flying Camp
 Long, John, Captain, Northampton County, Pa., Militia
 Long, Edward, Captain, Dorset, N. Y., Militia
 Long, Nicholas, Colonel, North Carolina Militia
 Long, Nicholas, Lieutenant of a Virginia Regiment
 *Long, Pierse, Colonel, New Hampshire Militia
 Long, William, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, Va. Line
 Long, Thomas, Major, Bucks County, Pa., Militia
 Long, William, Captain, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
 Looney, William, Captain, Clark's Illinois Regiment
 *Lyon, Mathew, Lieutenant, "Green Mountain Boys" (N. H.)
 Lynch, Charles, Colonel of a Virginia Rifle Regiment
 Lynch, Cornelius, Ensign, Elmore's Conn. State Regiment
 Lynch, Isidore, Captain, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
 Lynch, James, Surgeon, Pulaski's Legion and S. C. State troops
 Lynch, John, Major, 5th Regiment, Maryland Line
 Lynch, John, Lieutenant, 7th Regiment, N. C. Line
 Lynch, John, Lieutenant, Md. Battalion of the Flying Camp
 Lynch, John, Captain, 4th Regiment, Maryland Line
 Lynch, Thomas, Captain, 1st Regiment, S. C. Line
 *Lynch, Thomas, Captain, Thompson's S. C. Rangers
 Linch, James, Lieutenant, Philadelphia City Militia
 Lyons, John, Captain, Georgia Continental Brigade
 Lyons, John, Surgeon, Va. Continental Line

Lyons, Mathias, Captain, Essex County, N. J., Militia

Lyons, Samuel, Lieutenant, Pennsylvania Navy

Madden, Matthew, Captain, *Commodore de Galvez*, Pa. Navy

Madden, Michael, Ensign, Colonel Smith's Mass. Regiment

*Magee, Bernard, First Officer, ship *Jefferson*, Mass. Navy

Magee, James, Captain, Colonel Graham's Regiment, N. Y.

Levies

Magee, James, Lieutenant, 4th Regiment, Albany County,
N. Y., Militia

*Magee, James, Captain, brig *General Arnold*, Mass. Navy

Magee, John, Privateer Captain, Penna. Navy

Magee, Peter, Lieutenant, Dutchess County, N. Y., Militia

Magee, Peter, Lieutenant, 3d Regiment, New York Line

Magee, Thomas, Captain, Colonel Malcom's Regiment of
N. Y. Levies

Magee, William, Ensign, 5th Regiment, Penna. Line

Magee, William, Ensign, 4th Penna. Battalion

McGee, Hugh, Captain, Georgia Continental Brigade

McGee, James, Captain, Colonel Dubois' Regiment, N. Y.

Line

McGee, James, Captain, Cumberland County, N. J., Militia

McGee, John, Ensign, Cumberland County, Penna., Militia

McGee, John, Ensign, 8th Regiment, Penna. Line

McGee, Robert, Lieutenant, Pennsylvania Militia

McGee, William, Lieutenant, 8th Regiment, Penna. Line

*Magill, Charles, Colonel of a Virginia Regiment

Magill, James, Lieutenant, 1st Regiment, Penna. Line

*Magaw, Robert, Colonel, 6th Regiment, Penna. Line

*Magaw, William, Colonel, Penna. Rifle Regiment

Magaw, William, Surgeon, 4th Regiment, Penna. Line

Mahon, John, Lieutenant, 8th Regiment, Penna. Line

Mahon, John, Captain, 11th Regiment, Penna. Line

Mahon, John, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, Penna. Line

Mahoney, John, Ensign, 13th Regiment, Albany County,
N. Y., Militia

Mahony, Dennis, Sub-Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon,
French-Irish Brigade

Malone, William, Captain, privateer *Harbinger*, R. I. Navy

- Mallone, James, Captain, Colonel Putnam's Mass. Regiment
- Malon, James, Lieutenant, General Michael Farley's Mass. Brigade
- Malloon, John, Lieutenant, 4th Regiment, Essex County, Mass.
- Maloney, Thomas, Lieutenant, Lancaster County, Pa., Militia
- Malony, ———, Captain, privateer *Buckram*, Mass. Naval Service
- *Mullowney, John, Captain, Penna. State Navy
- Maroney, Philip, Captain, 1st Battalion Maryland Flying Camp
- Maroney, Thomas, Lieutenant, Lancaster County, Pa., Militia
- *Maxwell, William, Brigadier-General, Continental Army
- Maney, William, Lieutenant, 6th Regiment, Va. Line
- Manley, John, Lieutenant, 3d Regiment, Georgia Line
- Manning, Jeremiah, Captain, Middlesex County, N. J., Militia
- Manning, James, Lieutenant, Middlesex County, N. J., Militia
- Manning, Lawrence, Ensign, Hazen's Regiment, Penna. Line
- Manning, Lawrence, Lieutenant, Lee's Battalion of Light Dragoons
- Manning, Richard, Captain, Lancaster County, Pa., Militia
- Manning, William, Captain, Middlesex County, N. J., Militia
- Manning, William, Lieutenant, Ward's Conn. State Regiment
- *Mease, James, Commissary, Penna. Troops
- *Mease, John, Captain, 4th Regiment, Penna. Line
- *Mease, James, Paymaster and Treasurer, Continental Army
- *Mease, Matthew, Purser, *Bon Homme Richard*, Continental Navy
- Mebane, Robert, Lieutenant-Colonel, 7th Regiment, N. C. Militia
- Menema, Daniel, Surgeon, 2d Regiment, N. Y. Line
- Manghan, John, Lieutenant, Hartley's Regiment, Penna. Line
- *Meade, George, Officer, Philadelphia City Militia
- Meighan, George, Lieutenant, Regiment de Walsh, French-Irish Brigade
- Meleaney, Robert, Lieutenant-Colonel, 7th Regiment, N. C. Line
- Mellin, John, Captain, Colonel Enoch Hale's N. H. Regiment

- Mellagan, James, Ensign, Philadelphia City Militia
 Marney, Thomas, Lieutenant, Georgia Continental Brigade
 *Melally, Michael, Captain, *Oliver Cromwell*, Conn. Navy
 Maley, William, Captain, privateer *Rambler*, Mass. Navy
 Maloy, James, Ensign, 5th Penna. Battalion
 Meloy, John, Lieutenant, 3d Regiment, South Carolina Line
 Molloy, Edward, Quartermaster, Continental Frigate *Deane*
 Molloy, James, Ensign, 6th Regiment, Penna. Line
 Mulloy, Hugh, Lieutenant, Colonel Tupper's Mass. Regiment
 Mulloy, James, Lieutenant, Shee's Regiment, Penna. Line
 Miles, James, Ensign, Chester County, Penna., Militia
 Miles, John, Lieutenant, Lamb's Artillery
 *Mitchell, Anthony, Officer of Penna. Troops (Regiment unknown)
 Monaghan, David, Lieutenant, Thompson's S. C. Rangers
 Mooney, Benjamin, Lieutenant, Wyman's N. H. Militia Regiment
 *Mooney, Hercules, Colonel, New Hampshire Militia
 Moore, Gerard, Captain, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
 Moore, William, Captain, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
 *Moore, Daniel, Colonel, New Hampshire Militia
 Morgan, John Baptist, Sub-Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
 Moneanelly, Bartholomew, Quartermaster, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
 *Montgomery, ———, Captain, Clark's Illinois Regiment
 Moran, Edward, Lieutenant, 6th Regiment, Maryland Line
 Moriarty, Thomas, Privateer Captain, Massachusetts Navy
 Mulligan, Francis, Captain, Privateer *Chance*, R. I. Navy
 *Moylan, Jasper, Lieutenant, Philadelphia City Militia
 *Moylan, Stephen, Colonel, 4th Penna. Dragoons and Quartermaster-General Continental Army
 *Moylan, John, Quartermaster-General, Penna. Line
 Mullens, Thomas, Lieutenant-Colonel, Continental Army
 Murley, William, Ensign, Westmoreland County, Pa., Militia
 Murran, William, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, Penna. Line
 Mulhollen, William, Lieutenant, 3d Regiment, Maryland Line

- Murphy, Archibald, Colonel, Caswell County, N. C., Militia
Murphy, Daniel, Lieutenant, New Hampshire Militia
*Murphy, Daniel, Captain, Pennsylvania Navy
*Murphy, John, Captain, privateer *Swallow*, R. I. Naval Service
Murphy, John, Ensign, Henry County, Va., Militia
*Murphy, John, Captain, privateer *Speedwell*, Mass. Navy
Murphy, John, Jr., Ensign, York County, Penna., Militia
*Murphy, Maurice, Captain, Hicks' South Carolina Regiment
Murphy, Patrick, Sub-Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
Murphy, Zachariah, Captain, privateer *Recusett*, Mass. Naval Service
Murphy, ———, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
Murfree, Hardy, Lieutenant-Colonel, 1st Regiment, N. C. Line
McMurphy, Daniel, Lieutenant, Hobart's N. H. Regiment
*McMurphy, Daniel, Lieutenant, Stark's N. H. Regiment
McMurphy, Robert, Lieutenant, Peabody's N. H. Regiment
McAfee, Robert, Captain, Chester County, Pa., Militia
McAllen, James, Ensign, 6th Regiment, Penna. Line
McAteer, John, Captain, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
McAuley, Cornelius, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
*McAlevy, William, Colonel, Bedford County, Penna., Militia
McAllister, Hugh, Captain, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
McAllister, Neil, Lieutenant, 1st Regiment, N. C. Line
McAvoy, George, Captain, *Perseverance*, Penna. Navy
McBride, Archibald, Ensign, 2d Regiment, Ulster County, N. Y., Militia
McBride, James, Captain, Orange County, N. Y., Militia
*McBride, James, Major, Kentucky troops
McBride, John, Lieutenant, Colonel Pawling's Regiment, N. Y. Levies
McBride, John, Captain, York County, Penna., Militia
McBride, John, Jr., Ensign, York County, Penna., Militia
McBride, John, Ensign, Hartley's Penna. Regiment of the Line

McBride, John, Captain, Colonel Dubois's Regiment, N. Y.

Levies

McBride, Robert, Lieutenant, 9th Regiment, Penna. Line

McBride, William, Lieutenant, Bucks County, Penna., Militia

McCalla, Daniel, Lieutenant, Philadelphia City Militia

McCalla, John, Captain, Philadelphia City Militia

McCalla, Thomas, Lieutenant, Moylan's 4th Penna. Dragoons

McCalla, Thomas, Lieutenant, Philadelphia City Militia

McCarter, Charles, Surgeon, Morgan's Rifle Corps

*McCauley, Matthew, Lieutenant, 10th Regiment, N. C. Line

McCauley, John, Lieutenant, Stickney's N. H. Regiment

McCabe, Edward, Lieutenant, 12th Regiment, Penna. Line

*McCabe, James, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia

McCabe, John, Lieutenant, Maryland Battalion of the Flying
Camp

McCall, George, Lieutenant, Haslett's Delaware Regiment

McCall, Hugh, Major, South Carolina Militia

McCall, James, Captain, South Carolina Rangers

McCall, John, Lieutenant, South Carolina Militia

McCall, William, Lieutenant, Spencer's N. J. Regiment of the
Line

McCall, William, Captain, Bedford County, Penna., Militia

*McCarthy, Florence, Ensign, 4th Regiment, N. C. Line

*McCarthy, John, Privateer Captain, Penna. Navy

McCarthy, John, Privateer Captain, Mass. Navy

McCarthy, John, Captain, privateer *Black Princess*, Conn.

Naval Service

MacCarthy, Eugene, Lieutenant, Regiment de Walsh, French-
Irish Brigade

McCarthy, Timothy, Ensign, 2d Regiment, R. I. Line

McCarty, Benjamin, Ensign, Northampton County, Pa.,
Militia

McCarty, Charles, Captain, Richmond County, Va., Militia

McCarty, Daniel, Lieutenant, Grayson's Va. Continental
Regiment

McCarty, Richard, Captain, Clark's Illinois Regiment

*McCarty, Richard, Privateer Captain, Conn. Naval Service

McCarty, Richard, Captain, Virginia State Line

McCarty, William, Quartermaster, 15th Mass. Regiment

- McCartney, John, Captain, Philadelphia City Militia
McCann, Andrew, Major, Bedford County, Penna., Militia
McCann, John, Lieutenant, 6th Regiment, N. C. Line
McCausland, William, Major, Lancaster County, Pa., Militia
*McClary, Andrew, Major, 1st New Hampshire Regiment
McClary, David, Lieutenant, Stickney's N. H. Regiment
McClary, John, Colonel, New Hampshire Militia
*McClary, Michael, Captain, 3d New Hampshire Regiment
McCleary, Daniel, Lieutenant, Charlotte County, N. Y.,
Militia
McCleery, William, Colonel, Washington County, Pa., Militia
McClanin, William, Lieutenant, Sussex County, N. J., Militia
McClannen, William, Lieutenant, 18th Mass. Continental In-
fantry
McClenaghan, Thomas, Lieutenant, Lancaster County, Pa.,
Militia
McClenahan, John F., Lieutenant, Chester County, Penna.,
Militia
McClenahan, William, Ensign, Philadelphia City Militia
McClaughry, John, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, N. Y. Line
McClees, Peter, Lieutenant, Dutchess County, N. Y., Militia
McCauley, James, Lieutenant, 5th New Hampshire Regiment
McCauley, James, Captain, Marion's S. C. Brigade
McCauley, Matthew, Lieutenant, 10th Regiment, N. C. Line
McCauley, Thomas, Surgeon's Mate, 4th Continental
Dragoons
McClellan, Daniel, Captain, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
McClellan, Thomas, Lieutenant, 3d Regiment, N. Y. Line
McCloskey, Alexander, Colonel, New Hampshire Militia
*McCloskey, John, Captain, Chester County, Penna., Militia
McCloskey, James, Sub-Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon,
French-Irish Brigade
McConan, John, Captain, 6th Regiment, Penna. Line
McConaughy, Robert, Lieutenant, York County, Pa., Militia
McClellan, Thomas, Lieutenant, 3d Regiment, N. Y. Line
*McCollum, Cornelius, Lieutenant, Gloucester County, N. J.,
Militia
McConnel, Charles, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, Pa.,
Militia

- McConnel, James, Captain, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- McConnell, James, Captain, Lancaster County, Pa., Militia
- McConnell, John, Captain, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- *McConnell, Hugh, Ensign, 4th Regiment, New York Line
- McConnell, Matthew, Captain, Hazen's Regiment, Pa. Line
- *McConnell, Matthew, Lieutenant, 1st Regiment, Penna. Line
- McConnell, Robert, Captain, Proctor's Penna. Artillery
- McConnell, Robert, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, Penna., Militia
- McConnell, Samuel, Captain, Colonel Daniel Moore's N. H. Regiment
- McConnell, ———, Captain, Bartlett's N. H. Militia
- McConnell, Hugh, Adjutant, Dubois' New York Regiment of the Line
- McCormack, D., Colonel, Georgia Continental Brigade
- McCormick, Alexander, Lieutenant, Bedford County, Penna., Militia
- McCormick, Alexander, Lieutenant, 1st Regiment, Penna. Line
- McCormick, George, Captain, 13th Regiment, Virginia Line
- McCormick, Henry, Adjutant, 1st Regiment, Penna. Line
- McCormick, Henry, Brigade Major, 1st Penna. Brigade
- McCormick, Henry, Lieutenant, Lancaster County, Pa., Militia
- McCormick, John, Ensign, Northumberland County, Pa., Militia
- *McCormick, John, Ensign, 10th Regiment, Penna. Line
- McCormick, John, Captain, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- *McCormick, Thomas, Ensign, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- McCormick, William, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- McClune, William, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, New York Line
- McClure, David, Lieutenant, Mott's Conn. State Regiment
- McClure, James, Adjutant, Long's N. H. Regiment
- McClure, James, Lieutenant, 2d Connecticut Artillery
- McClure, James, Ensign, North Carolina Militia
- McClure, James, Captain, Montgomery's Penna. Battalion Flying Camp

- McClure, James, Captain, Proctor's Penna. Artillery
McClure, James, Captain, Chester County, Penna., Militia
McClure, James, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
McClure, John, Ensign, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
McClure, John, Major, Georgia Continental Brigade
McClure, John, Captain, South Carolina Rangers
McClure, Neil, Colonel, South Carolina Militia
McClure, William, Surgeon, 6th Regiment, N. C. Line
McClure, William, Captain, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
McClure, Joseph, Captain, Lancaster County, Penna., Militia
McCrellis, Henry, Ensign, Stickney's N. H. Regiment
McConkey, William, Captain, Bucks County, Penna., Militia
McCrory, Thomas, Captain, 9th Regiment, N. C. Line
McCoy, Charles, Lieutenant, Monmouth County, N. J., Militia
McCoy, Daniel, Captain, Chester County, Penna., Militia
McCoy, James, Lieutenant, Pennsylvania Navy
McCoy, James, Adjutant, Northumberland County, Pa., Militia
McCoy, John, Lieutenant, 4th Regiment, Maryland Line
McCoy, Joseph, Ensign, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
McCoy, Matthew, Captain, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
McCoy, Neal, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
McCoy, Thomas, Ensign, 6th Penna. Battalion
McCoy, Thomas, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
McCoy, Thomas, Captain, 9th Regiment, Penna. Line
McCoy, William, Lieutenant, Malcom's N. Y. Regiment of the Line
McCoy, Robert, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
McCullen, James, Captain, N. Y. Artificers, Continental Army
McDuffee, Daniel, Captain, Colonel Stephen Evans' N. H. Regiment
McDuffee, William, Captain, 2d N. H. Continental Regiment
McDuffie, John, Lieutenant-Colonel, Stark's N. H. Regiment
McDaniel, Timothy, Major, 3d Cumberland County, Me., Regiment
McDonnol, John, Captain, Shee's Penna. Regiment
*McDonald, Barney, Lieutenant, 4th Regiment, Virginia Line
McDonald, Daniel, Captain, Somerset County, N. J., Militia

- McDonald, Daniel, Major, Essex County, N. J., Militia
 McDonald, James, Captain, 1st Regiment, S. C. Line
 McDonald, John, Lieutenant, 6th Penna. Battalion
 McDonald, John, Captain, York County, Penna., Militia
 McDonald, John, Captain, 1st Regiment, S. C. Line
 McDonald, John Baptist, Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon,
 French-Irish Brigade
 McDonald, Richard, Captain, Somerset County, N. J., Militia
 McDonald, William, Lieutenant, 4th Regiment, Georgia Line
 McDonough, James, Lieutenant, Haslett's Delaware Regi-
 ment
 McDonough, Thomas, Major, Haslett's Delaware Regiment
 McDermott, David, Ensign, Pennsylvania Militia
 McDermott, Bernard, Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon,
 French-Irish Brigade
 McDermott, Thomas, Captain, Regiment de Dillon, French-
 Irish Brigade
 McDermond, Daniel, Ensign, Lancaster County, Pa., Militia
 McDowell, Andrew, Lieutenant, Middlesex County, N. J.,
 Militia
 McDowell, Bernard, Ensign, 4th Regiment, Virginia Line
 McDowell, Charles, Lieutenant-Colonel, Rowan County,
 N. C., troops
 McDowell, Edward, Lieutenant, Westmoreland County, Pa.,
 Militia
 McDowell, James, Captain, Chester County, Pa., Regiment
 McDowell, James, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, Pa.,
 Militia
 McDowell, James, Lieutenant, Philadelphia City Artillery
 McDowell, John, Surgeon, 6th Regiment, Penna. Line
 McDowell, John, Lieutenant, Bucks County, Penna., Militia
 McDowell, John, Lieutenant-Colonel, Chester County, Pa.,
 Militia
 McDowell, John, Captain, 7th Regiment, Penna. Line
 McDowell, John, Lieutenant, Virginia Continental Line
 McDowell, Joseph, Brigadier-General, North Carolina Militia
 McDowell, Joseph, Captain, North Carolina Militia
 McDowell, Thomas, Lieutenant, Georgia Continental Brigade
 McDowell, Thomas, Captain, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia

- McDowell, William, Captain, 1st Regiment, Penna. Line
 McDowell, William, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, Penna. Line
 McElderry, John, Lieutenant, 11th Regiment, Penna. Line
 *McElhatton, William, Lieutenant, 12th Regiment, Pa. Line
 McElhinney, Robert, Lieutenant, York County, Pa., Militia
 McElhaney, John, Captain, Virginia State Line
 McElheney, James, Captain, 2d South Carolina Dragoons
 McIlhaney, James, Lieutenant, 10th Regiment, Virginia Line
 McFadden, James, Captain, North Carolina Militia
 McFadden, James, Captain, 2d Regiment, Virginia Line
 McFadden, James, Lieutenant, Maryland Artillery
 McFadden, Samuel, Lieutenant, Bedford County, Pa., Militia
 McFadden, William, Captain, Pennsylvania Navy
 McGra, John, Captain, Privateer *Ranger*, Mass. Navy
 McFall, Patrick, Lieutenant, Penna. State Regiment of Foot
 McFall, John, Lieutenant, Bucks County, Penna., Militia
 McFall, Patrick, Lieutenant, 13th Regiment, Penna. Line
 McGaffey, Andrew, Lieutenant, Wingate's N. H. Regiment
 McGaffey, Neal, Lieutenant, Stark's N. H. Regiment
 *McGahey, James, Ensign, North Carolina troops
 McGaughey, Thomas, Lieutenant, Bedford County, Penna., Militia
 *McGannon, Michael, Lieutenant, Philadelphia City Militia
 McGeary, William, Lieutenant, 8th Regiment, Penna. Line
 *McGarry, Hugh, Captain, Kentucky troops
 McGarrrough, James, Major, Westmoreland County, Pa., Militia
 *McGibbony, Patrick, Lieutenant, 4th Regiment, N. C. Line
 McGinley, John, Captain, Philadelphia City Artillery
 McGinley, John, Superintendent, Penna. Artillery Artificers
 *McGinnis, John, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
 McGinnis, ———, Lieutenant, Thompson's S. C. Rangers
 McGinness, Samuel, Ensign, Penna. Battalion of the Flying Camp
 Maginess, James, Ensign, Bedford County, Pa., Militia
 McGlauhan, John, Captain, 7th Regiment, N. C. Line
 *McGowan, John, Brigade Inspector, Penna. Line
 McGowan, John, Captain, Miles' Penna. Rifle Regiment
 McGowan, John, Captain, 4th Regiment, Penna. Line

- McGowan, James, Lieutenant, Lancaster County, Pa., Militia
 *McGowan, Thomas, Captain, York County, Penna., Militia
 McGowan, ———, Lieutenant of a Georgia Battalion
 McGuffey, Robert, Captain, Westmoreland County, Pa., Militia
 McGuire, Archibald, Lieutenant, Malcom's Regiment, N. Y. Levies
 McGuire, Archibald, Lieutenant, 11th Regiment, Penna. Line
 *McGuire, James, Ensign, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
 McGuire, James, Captain, Grayson's Virginia Regiment
 McGuire, John, Captain, Grayson's Virginia Regiment
 McGuire, John, Ensign, 3d Regiment, Maryland Line
 McGuire, "Merry," Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, S. C. Line
 *McGuire, Matthew, Captain, 4th Continental Artillery
 McGuire, Mathew, Captain, 1st Penna. Artillery
 McGuire, Philip, Captain, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
 McGuire, William, Captain, 1st Continental Artillery (Va.)
 McGuire, William, Lieutenant, 1st Regiment, Virginia Line
 Maguire, John, Lieutenant, Maryland Line
 *Maguire, Nathaniel, Major, Proctor's Penna. Artillery
 McGrady, Samuel, Lieutenant, Northumberland County, Pa., Militia
 McHenry, William, Captain, Bucks County, Penna., Militia
 *McHenry, Charles, Captain, 5th Regiment, Penna. Line
 McHenry, Daniel, Ensign, York County, Penna., Militia
 *McHenry, James, Surgeon, 5th Penna. Battalion
 McHaney, James, Lieutenant, 5th Regiment, Va. Line
 McIlroy, George, Lieutenant, Bucks County, Penna., Militia
 McKall, John, Captain, Norwich, Conn., Company
 McKee, David, Lieutenant, Westmoreland County, Pa., Militia
 McKee, Hugh, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
 McKee, Robert, Captain, Westmoreland County, Pa., Militia
 *McKee, William, Captain, Clark's Illinois Regiment
 *McKean, Robert, Captain, 1st Regiment, N. Y. Line
 McKean, Thomas, Captain, Philadelphia City Militia
 McKee, John, Captain, Chester County, Penna., Militia

- *McKelvey, James, Lieutenant, Northumberland County, Pa., Militia
- McKenney, John, Lieutenant, 9th Regiment, Penna. Line
- McKenny, James, Captain Bedford County, Penna., Militia
- McKenny, John, Lieutenant, 3d Regiment, Penna. Line
- McKenny, Robert, Captain, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- McKenny, William, Lieutenant, 10th Massachusetts Regiment
- McKinney, Harry, Captain, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- *McKarraghan, William, Captain, 24th Regiment, Hanover, Pa., Militia
- *McKinley, Henry, Captain, 12th Regiment, Penna. Line
- McKinnie, Walter, Captain, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- McKennan, William, Captain, Hall's Delaware Regiment
- McKeown, John, Captain, Lancaster County, Pa., Militia
- McQuown, David, Captain, Lancaster County, Pa., Militia
- McQuown, Richard, Captain, Lancaster County, Pa., Militia
- McQuown, Robert, Lieutenant, Lancaster County, Pa., Militia
- McLane, Daniel, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- McLane, Daniel, Lieutenant, 3d Continental Artillery
- McLane, John, Lieutenant, Delaware Battalion of the Flying Camp
- McLane, John, Captain, 4th Regiment, N. C. Line
- McLane, William, Surgeon's Mate, North Carolina Line
- McLarey, James, Lieutenant-Colonel, New York Militia
- McClaughlin, William, Captain, Colleton County, S. C., Foot Regiment
- McLaughlin, James, Lieutenant, 1st Regiment, N. C. Line
- McLaughlin, John, Captain, Philadelphia City Militia
- McLaughlin, Thomas, Captain, South Carolina troops
- *McLaughlin, Thomas, Captain, Stark's New Hampshire Regiment
- *McLaughlin, Thomas, Captain, Colonel Daniel Moore's N. H. Regiment
- McLaughlin, John, Lieutenant, Frederick County, Va., Militia
- McGlaughlan, John, Captain, 7th Regiment, N. C. Line
- McKelwaine, Samuel, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, N. C. Line

- McManus, Hugh, Lieutenant, Rensselaer County, N. Y., Militia
- *McMahon, John, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- McManus, ———, Lieutenant, 6th Regiment, Albany County, N. Y., Militia
- McMahon, William, Surgeon, Virginia Line
- *McMahon, ———, Major, Frontier troops of Georgia
- McMurrin, John, Ensign, Wolcott's Conn. State Regiment
- McMullen, John, Lieutenant, Bedford County, Pa., Militia
- McMullan, John, Lieutenant, Thurston's Continental Regiment
- McMullen, Robert, Lieutenant, Philadelphia City Artillery
- McMullan, Nathaniel, Lieutenant, 3d Regiment, Penna. Line
- McMullin, Samuel, Ensign, York County, Penna., Militia
- McMullen, Thomas, Ensign, Lancaster County, Pa., Militia
- McMullen, William, Ensign, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- *McMullen, William, Captain, Philadelphia City Guards
- Mulan, Robert, Captain, Philadelphia City Marines
- Mullen, James, Ensign, Philadelphia City Militia
- Mullen, John, Lieutenant, York County, Penna., Militia
- Mullin, Charles, Ensign, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- Mullin, Michael, Major, Bucks County, Penna., Militia
- McMurray, Joseph, Captain, Berks County, Penna., Militia
- McMurray, William, Lieutenant, Doyle's Penna. Independent Rifle Company
- McMurray, William, Captain, 10th Regiment, Penna. Line
- McNamara, James, Ensign, Lancaster County, Pa., Militia
- *McNamara, Michael, Lieutenant, 1st Continental Artillery
- McNaughton, John, Lieutenant, 8th Regiment, N. C. Line
- McNeal, Loughlin, Lieutenant, ship *Effingham*, Penna. State Navy
- McNees, John, Lieutenant, 3d Regiment, N. C. Line
- McNeill, Daniel, Lieutenant, Clark's Illinois Regiment
- McRenolds, Robert, Ensign, 10th Regiment, N. C. Line
- *McSheehy, Miles, Adjutant, 9th Regiment, N. C. Line
- McSheehy, Patrick, Sub-Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- *McShane, Barnabas, Captain, Philadelphia City Militia

- McSheery, Barnabas, Ensign, York County, Penna., Militia
- *McSweeney, James, Lieutenant, Hartley's Additional Regiment
- Newlan, Edward, Captain, *Phoenix*, Penna. Navy
- Nugent, Anselm, Captain, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- Nagle, James, Captain, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- Nagle, Charles, Adjutant, 10th Regiment, Virginia Line
- Nagle, Peter, Lieutenant, Bedford County, Penna., Militia
- Nealey, Samuel, Ensign, York County, Penna., Militia
- Nealley, William, Lieutenant, York County, Penna., Militia
- Neeley, Henry, Captain, Bucks County, Penna., Militia
- Neeley, Matthew, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, Ulster County, N. Y., Militia
- Neeley, William, Captain, Bucks County, Penna., Militia
- *Neill, Daniel, Captain-Lieutenant, N. J. State Artillery
- Neill, Henry, Colonel, Delaware Line Regiment
- Neill, John, Lieutenant, South Carolina Militia
- Neill, Robert, Captain, Essex County, N. J., Militia
- Neill, Thomas, Lieutenant, Lancaster County, Penna., Militia
- *Neilson, John, Colonel, Middlesex County, N. J., Militia
- *Nesbitt, John, Paymaster, Penna. State Navy
- *Nichols, Francis, Major, 9th Regiment, Penna. Line
- Nevins, Daniel, Captain, 6th Connecticut Regiment
- Nevins, William, Lieutenant, 7th Connecticut Infantry
- *Noland, Pierce, Lieutenant, Virginia Continental Line
- Nowlan, Thomas, Lieutenant, 1st Maryland Battalion Flying Camp
- Norris, George, Lieutenant, Burlington County, N. J., Militia
- Norris, James, Captain, Col. Nathan Hale's N. H. Regiment
- Norton, Miles, Lieutenant, Connecticut Provisional Regiment
- O'Brien, Michael, Captain, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- *O'Brian, Thomas, Lieutenant, Connecticut Provisional Regiment
- O'Brien, Jeremiah, Captain, *Machias Liberty*, Mass. Navy

- O'Brien, John, Captain, Ship *Adventure*, Mass. Navy
- O'Brien, John, Captain, Regiment de Walsh, French-Irish Brigade
- O'Brien, Thaddeus, Major, Regiment de Walsh, French-Irish Brigade
- O'Brien, Richard, Lieutenant, Ship *Jefferson*, Continental Navy
- O'Brien, William, Lieutenant, Ship *Hibernia*, Massachusetts Navy
- O'Brien, William, Lieutenant, *Machias Liberty*, Massachusetts Navy
- O'Bryan, William, Captain, Georgia troops and Treasurer Georgia Revolutionary Committees
- O'Brien, Joseph, Privateer Captain, Massachusetts Navy
- O'Cahill, Louis, Sub-Lieutenant, Regiment de Walsh, French-Irish Brigade
- O'Connor, Chevalier Armand, Captain, Regiment de Walsh, French-Irish Brigade
- *O'Connor, Morgan, Lieutenant-Colonel, 11th Regiment, Pa. Line
- O'Crowley, Felix, Sub-Lieutenant, Regiment de Walsh, French-Irish Brigade
- O'Croly, Charles, Captain, Regiment de Walsh, French-Irish Brigade
- O'Donnell, John, Ensign, Washington County, Pa., Militia
- O'Doyer, Dennis, Captain, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- O'Driscoll, James, Captain, Regiment de Walsh, French-Irish Brigade
- O'Bannon, John, Colonel, Fauquier County, Virginia, Militia
- O'Farrell, Emanuel, Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- O'Farrell, Claude, Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- O'Farrell, James, Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- O'Flynn, James, Lieutenant, Regiment de Walsh, French-Irish Brigade

- O'Flynn, Patrick, Captain, Neill's Delaware Regiment of the Line
- O'Gorman, Charles, Lieutenant, Regiment de Walsh, French-Irish Brigade
- O'Hara, Henry, Captain, 13th Regiment, N. Y. Militia
- O'Hara, Henry, Captain, Hazen's Continental Regiment
- O'Hara, James, Captain (regiment not stated, served at Fort Pitt, Pa., in 1776)
- O'Hara, James, Brigadier-General, Penna. Militia and Quartermaster-General, Continental Army
- O'Hara, ———, Captain, New Jersey Militia
- O'Hara, ———, Captain, Connecticut troops (regiment not stated)
- O'Keefe, Patrick, Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- Oakley, Miles, Lieutenant, 4th Regiment, N. Y. Line
- O'Mara, Henry, Captain, Wynkoop's Regiment of New York Militia
- O'Meara, Daniel, Sub-Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- O'Meara, John Baptist, Lieutenant, Regiment de Walsh, French-Irish Brigade
- O'Moran, Charles, Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- O'Moran, James, Major, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- O'Neill, Bernard, Captain, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- O'Neill, John, Captain, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- O'Neill, Charles, Lieutenant, 3d Regiment, N. C. Line
- O'Neill, Francis, Surgeon, 10th Regiment, Penna. Line
- O'Neill, Ferdinand, Captain, Virginia Cavalry
- O'Neill, Henry, Ensign, 9th Regiment, Penna. Line
- O'Neal, John, Adjutant, Col. Daniel Moore's N. H. Regiment
- O'Neal, Ferdinand, Captain, Lee's Battalion S. C. Light Dragoons
- O'Reilly, Charles, Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade

- O'Reilly, John, Captain, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- O'Riordan, James, Lieutenant, Regiment de Walsh, French-Irish Brigade
- O'Sheil, James, Sub-Lieutenant, Regiment de Walsh, French-Irish Brigade
- Owens, Barney, Lieutenant, 8th Regiment, Penna. Line
- Owens, Barney, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, New York Line
- Owens, Henry, Sub-Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- Purdon, Henry, Sub-Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- Purdon, Simon, Captain, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- Patton, James, Captain, Cumberland County, Penna., Militia
- Patton, James, Lieutenant, 2d Continental Dragoons
- *Patton, John, Colonel, Pennsylvania Line
- Patton, John, Colonel, 2d Regiment, N. C. Line
- Patton, John, Lieutenant, Chester County, Penna., Militia
- *Patton, John, Quartermaster, 1st Regiment, N. H. Line
- Patton, Robert, Lieutenant, Klotz's Penna. Battalion Flying Camp
- Patton, Robert, Captain, 10th Regiment, Penna. Line
- Patton, William, Captain, Patton's Regiment, Penna. Line
- Phelon, Edward, Aide-de-Camp to General Putnam
- Phelon, Edward, Captain, 4th Regiment, Mass. Line
- Phelon, John, Lieutenant, 3d Regiment, Mass. Line
- *Phelan, Patrick, Lieutenant, 3d Regiment, Mass. Line
- Phelon, Patrick, Captain, Jackson's Mass. Continental Regiment
- Piggott, James, Captain, 8th Regiment, Penna. Line
- Piggott, John, Captain, General Clark's Illinois Regiment
- Pickens, Andrew, Colonel, S. C. Militia and Brigadier-General, State troops
- Pickett, Martin, Colonel, Virginia Militia
- Pickett, Thomas, Ensign, 1st Regiment, N. C. Line
- Pickett, William, Captain, 1st Regiment, N. C. Line
- Pickett, William, Major, Virginia Militia

- *Plunkett, David, Captain, Moylan's 4th Dragoons
- Plunkett, Francis, Lieutenant, Regiment de Walsh, French-Irish Brigade
- Prendergast, John, Lieutenant, 3d Regiment, Maryland Line
- Prendergast, William, Lieutenant, 3d Regiment, Maryland Line
- *Preston, William, Captain, Virginia Rangers
- Power, Augustine, Major, Philadelphia City Militia
- Power, Nicholas, Lieutenant, 10th Regiment, Albany County, N. Y., Militia
- Power, Robert, Lieutenant, Lee's Battalion S. C. Light Dragoons
- Power, John, Captain, ship *William*, Massachusetts Navy
- Power, William, Captain, 4th Continental Artillery
- Power, William, Lieutenant, 6th Regiment, Penna. Line
- Powers, Alexander, Quartermaster, Miles' Penna. Line Regiment
- Powers, James, Lieutenant, 3d Regiment, N. C. Line
- Powers, James, Lieutenant, 7th Regiment, N. C. Line
- Powers, John, Lieutenant, 6th Regiment, Hampshire County, Mass., Militia
- Powers, Thomas, Lieutenant, 4th Regiment, Hampshire County, Mass., Militia
- Powers, Thomas, Captain, Privateer *Dauphin*, Massachusetts Navy
- Powers, William, Lieutenant, Gregory's Virginia Scouts
- *Proctor, Francis, Lieutenant, 1st Penna. Artillery
- *Proctor, Thomas, Colonel, 1st Penna. Artillery
- Quigley, Christopher, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- Quigley, James, Lieutenant, York County, Penna., Militia
- Quigley, Joseph, Captain, Burlington County, N. J., Militia
- *Quigley, Philip, Ensign, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- Quigley, Robert, Captain, Burlington County, N. J., Militia
- Quigley, Robert, Captain, Pennsylvania Militia
- *Quigley, Thomas, Commander, schooner *General Putnam*, N. Y. Navy
- Quigley, Thomas, Captain, Burlington County, N. J., Militia

- Quinlan, Joseph, Surgeon, 3d Regiment, Virginia Line
 *Quinn, John, Captain, Chester County, Penna., Militia
 Quinn, John, Surgeon, 3d Regiment, N. H. Line
 *Quinn, Michael, Captain, 3d Regiment, N. C. Line
 Quin, Michael, Captain, 8th Regiment, N. C. Line
 Quin, Samuel, Lieutenant, 12th Regiment, Penna. Line
 *Quirk, Thomas, Major, Virginia State Line
 Quirk, ———, Lieutenant, 7th Regiment, Virginia Continental Line
- Ragan, Daniel, Lieutenant, 11th Regiment, Virginia Line
 Reagan, Richard, Captain, Rockingham County, Virginia, Militia
 Redmond, Andrew, Military Storekeeper, South Carolina troops
 *Redmond, Andrew, Officer, 1st Regiment, N. C. Line
 Redmond, John, Captain, 6th Regiment, S. C. Militia
 Rice, John, Captain, North Carolina troops
 Rice, John, Captain, Pennsylvania Navy
 *Reynolds, Daniel, Major, Mooney's N. H. Regiment
 Reynolds, Thomas, Lieutenant-Colonel, Burlington County, N. J., Militia
 Reiley, John, Captain, 12th Regiment, Penna. Line
 Reiley, John, Captain, 1st Regiment, Maryland Line
 Reiley, John, Captain, New York Rangers
 Reiley, John, Captain, 3d Regiment, Penna. Line
 Reilley, John, Captain, Webb's Connecticut Regiment
 Reilly, James, Lieutenant, Burrall's Connecticut Regiment
 Riley, A., Captain, Brig *Ranger*, Connecticut Navy
 Riley, John, Captain, Sloop *Hero*, Connecticut Navy
 Riley, John, Lieutenant, 6th Regiment, Albany County, N. Y., Militia
 Riley, Roger, Captain, New Jersey Militia
 Reiley, William, Captain, 1st Regiment, Maryland Line
 *Roach, Francis, Captain, ship *Master*, Mass. Navy
 Roach, John, Captain, ship *Ranger*, Continental service
 Roach, Nicholas, Surgeon, Essex County, N. J., Militia
 Roche, Edward, Lieutenant, Hall's Delaware Regiment
 Roche, Thomas, Captain, Sloop *Polly*, Mass. Naval Service

- Roche, William, Lieutenant, Georgia Continental Brigade**
Roane, Christopher, Captain, Virginia Artillery
Rowan, James, Lieutenant, Philadelphia City Artillery
Rowan, John, Captain, Salem County, N. J., Militia
Rowan, Robert, Lieutenant, York County, Penna., Militia
Rowan, Robert, Captain, 1st Regiment, N. C. Line
 ***Rogers, Patrick, Lieutenant, 1st Regiment, N. C. Line**
Roney, James, Lieutenant, Philadelphia County, Pa, Militia
Roney, John, Captain, Virginia Continental Line
Russell, Cornelius, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, Conn. Line
 ***Rutherford, Griffith, Brigadier-General, N. C. Militia**
 ***Rutledge, Edward, Captain, S. C. Artillery**
Rutledge, Thomas, Major, Duplin County, N. C., Militia
Rutledge, William, Lieutenant, 4th Regiment, N. C. Line
 ***Ryan, James, Captain, 1st Regiment, S. C. Militia**
Ryan, John, Lieutenant, Lancaster County, Penna., Militia
Ryan, Michael, Captain, 5th Regiment, Penna. Line
Ryan, Michael, Lieutenant, 1st Regiment, New York Line
Ryan, Michael, Lieutenant-Colonel, Fairfax County, Va., Militia
Ryan, Michael, Lieutenant, 14th Regiment, New York Militia
 ***Ryan, Michael, Brigade Major, Wheelock's Mass. Regiment**
 ***Ryan, Michael, Inspector-General, Penna. Militia**
Ryan, Matthew, Lieutenant, Wheelock's Mass. Regiment
 ***Ryan, Philip, Captain, Philadelphia City Militia**
Ryan, Robert, Major, Georgia Continental Brigade
Ryan, William, Lieutenant, Nixon's Mass. Regiment
Ryan, William, Captain, Henry County, Va., Militia
Rhyne, John, Lieutenant, 14th Regiment, N. Y. Militia

Shaw, Daniel, Lieutenant, 6th Regiment, N. C. Line
 ***Shaw, ———, Commodore, Continental Navy**
 ***Shaw, Michael, Lieutenant, Philadelphia City Artillery**
Shaw, Patrick, Lieutenant, Bucks County, Penna., Militia
 ***Shahan, Darby, Lieutenant, Washington County, Pa., Militia**
Shay, Daniel, Captain, 5th Regiment, Mass. Line
 ***Shea, John, Colonel, 3d Regiment, Penna. Line**

- Shee, Robert, Captain, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish
Brigade
- Shee, William, Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish
Brigade
- Sexton, Samuel, Lieutenant, Monmouth County, N. J., Militia
- Shields, David, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- Shields, George, Ensign, Westmoreland County, Pa., Militia
- Shields, John, Captain, Virginia State Line
- Shields, John, Lieutenant-Colonel, Westmoreland County,
Penna., Militia
- Shields, Joseph, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- Shields, John, Captain, 1st Regiment, Virginia Line
- Shields, R., Lieutenant, 8th Regiment, Virginia Line
- *Shields, Peter, Lieutenant, 10th Regiment, Penna. Line
- Shannon, John, Lieutenant, Lancaster County, Pa., Militia
- Shannon, Robert, Captain, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
- *Smith, James, Colonel, Pennsylvania Militia
- *Smith, Patrick, Lieutenant-Colonel, Dorset, N. Y., Militia
- Strahan, William, Lieutenant, Lamb's N. Y. Artillery
- Sullivan, Daniel, Captain, 6th Regiment, Lincoln County,
Maine
- Sullivan, Eben, Captain, 30th Regiment, Lincoln County,
Maine
- Sullivan, Ebenezer, Captain, 15th Continental Infantry
- Sullivan, Jacob, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, Albany County,
N. Y., Militia
- Sullivan, James, Quartermaster, Lancaster County, Pa.,
Militia
- Sullivan, James, Commissary, Massachusetts troops
- Sullivan, James, Captain, 13th Regiment, Virginia Line
- Sullivan, John, Major-General, Continental Army
- Sullivan, John, Lieutenant, Moylan's 4th Dragoons
- Sullivan, Patrick, Quartermaster, York County, Pa., Militia
- Sullivan, Samuel, Captain, Pulaski Legion
- Sullivan, ———, Captain, Privateer *Willing Maid*
- Stack, Edward, Captain, Regiment de Walsh, French-Irish
Brigade
- *Stack, Edward, Ensign, *Bon Homme Richard*, Continental
Navy

- *Stewart, John, Colonel, Corps of Light Infantry
- *Stewart, Walter, Colonel, Penna. State Regiment of Foot
- Strange, Patrick, Sub-Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon
French-Irish Brigade
- Sweany, ———, Captain, Commander-in-Chief's Guard
- Sweeney, Isaac, Captain, 11th Regiment, Penna. Line
- Sweeney, James, Lieutenant, Penna. Artillery
- Sweeney, Robert, Captain, Washington County, Pa., Militia
- Sweeney, ———, Lieutenant, Hartley's Pa. Additional Regiment
- Swigny, Edmond, Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- Swigny, Paul, Captain, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- Taggart, Charles, Captain, Bedford County, Penna., Militia
- Taggart, James, Lieutenant, 1st Regiment, N. H. Line
- Taggart, John, Lieutenant, Wyman's N. H. Regiment
- Taggart, William, Quartermaster, Long's N. H. Regiment
- Taggart, William, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, S. C. Line
- Taggart, William, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, N. H. Line
- Talbot, Jeremiah, Major, 6th Regiment, Penna. Line
- *Thompson, William, Colonel, Penna. Rifle Regiment and
Brigadier-General, Continental Army
- Tobin, James, Sub-Lieutenant, Regiment de Walsh, French-Irish Brigade
- Tobin, Thomas, Lieutenant, Hunterdon County, N. J., Militia
- *Thornton, Matthew, Colonel, New Hampshire Militia
- Taaffe, Christopher, Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- Taaffe, Lawrence, Captain, Regiment de Dillon, French-Irish Brigade
- Toole, Henry, Captain, 2d Regiment, N. C. Line
- Toole, James, Lieutenant, Maryland Battalion Flying Camp
- Toomy, John, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, Maryland Line
- Torrence, Joseph, Lieutenant, 7th Regiment, Penna. Line
- Torrence, Robert, Lieutenant, Warner's Continental Regiment

- Tracy, Andrew H., Lieutenant, Stevens' N. Y. Artillery
 Tracy, James, Captain, *Yankee Hero*, Mass. Navy
 Tracy, John, Aide-de-Camp to General Glover
 *Tracy, John, Captain, Privateer, Mass. Navy
 *Tracy, Michael, Captain, Privateer, Mass. Navy
 *Tracy, Nicholas, Captain, Privateer, Mass. Navy
 *Tracy, Patrick, Builder of Privateers, Mass. Navy
 Tracy, Nathaniel, Captain, Privateer, Mass. Navy
 Turney, Daniel, Lieutenant, Northumberland County, Pa.,
 Militia
- Walsh, Chevalier Charles, Captain, Regiment de Walsh,
 French-Irish Brigade
- *Walsh, David, Privateer Captain, Penna. Navy
 Walsh, James, Superintendent of Arms, Penna. troops
 *Walsh, James, Lieutenant, Pennsylvania Militia
 Walsh, John, Captain, *Dolphin*, Penna. Navy
 Walsh, John, Captain, 8th Regiment, N. C. Line
 Walsh, Enoch, Lieutenant, Pulaski Legion
 Walsh, Joseph, Lieutenant, Patterson's Mass. Regiment
 *Ward, Edward, Major, Pennsylvania Line
 *Ward, James, Captain, Clark's Illinois Regiment
 Welch, John, Lieutenant, 3d Regiment, New York Line
 Welsh, Edward, Captain, 5th Regiment, S. C. Line
 Welsh, John, Lieutenant, Cumberland County, Pa., Militia
 Welsh, Michael, Lieutenant, Regiment de Dillon, French-
 Irish Brigade
 Welsh, John, Lieutenant, 1st Regiment, R. I. Line
 Welsh, Joseph, Lieutenant, York County, Penna., Militia
 Welsh, Joseph, Lieutenant, 15th Continental Infantry
 Welsh, Nathaniel, Lieutenant, 2d Regiment, Virginia State
 Line
 *Welsh, Patrick, Major, South Carolina Dragoons
 Welsh, Peter, Quartermaster, Wessenfels' Regiment of N. Y.
 Levies
 Welsh, Peter, Lieutenant, 5th Regiment, Mass. Line
 Welsh, Richard, Lieutenant, 9th Regiment, Mass. Line
 Welsh, Joseph, Lieutenant-Colonel, Trask's N. H. Regiment
 Whalen, James, Lieutenant, Somerset County, N. J., Militia

- Whelan, John, Captain, Chester County, Penna., Militia
Wayne, Anthony, Brigadier-General, Continental Army
*Wright, Patrick, Captain, Virginia Continental Line
*Wright, John, Quartermaster, N. J. troops

APPENDIX

NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND ENLISTED MEN, NAMED
BURKE, CONNOLLY, CONNOR, DOHERTY, KELLY, MURPHY,
MC CARTHY, O'BRIEN, O'NEILL, REILLY, RYAN, AND SULLIVAN,
IN THE AMERICAN ARMY AND NAVY OF THE REVOLUTION.

Burke, Alexander, Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot.
Burke, Alexander, Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Burke, Charles, Georgia Continental Line, (regiment unknown).
Burke, Charles, Eighth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Burke, Cornelius, Chester County, Penna., Militia.
Burke, David, North Carolina Continental Line.
Burke, David, Thompson's South Carolina Rangers.
Burke, David, Georgia Continental Line, (regiment unknown).
Burke, Edward, Georgia Continental Line, (regiment unknown).
Burke, Edward, Ship *Columbus*, Continental Navy.
Burke, Edward, Fifth Regiment, Suffolk County, Mass.
Burke, Edward, Crane's Massachusetts Artillery.
Burke, Edward, Colonel Little's Mass. Regiment.
Burke, Edward, Third Regiment, New York Line.
Burke, Edward, Eleventh Regiment, Penna. Line.
Burke, Edward, North Carolina Continental Line.
Burke, Edmund, First Regiment, Penna. Line.
Burke, Francis, First Regiment, Penna. Line.
Burke, Garret, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Burke, Henry, Miles' Penna. Rifle Regiment.
Burke, James, Hartley's Regiment, Penna. Line.
Burke, James, First Regiment, Penna. Line.
Burke, James, Eleventh Regiment, Penna. Line.
Burke, James, Miles' Penna. Rifle Regiment.
Burke, James, Lancaster County, Penna., Militia.
Burke, James, Penna. State Regiment of Foot.
Burke, James, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment.
Burke, James, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Burke, James, Virginia Navy.
Burke, Joseph, Colonel Hale's New Hampshire Regiment.
Burke, Joseph, Colonel Topham's Rhode Island Regiment.
Burke, Joseph, Colonel Cilley's New Hampshire Regiment.
Burke, Joseph, Colonel Brooks' Mass. Regiment.

Burke, Jacob, Seventh Regiment, Maryland Line.
Burke, John, Miles' Penna. Rifle Regiment.
Burke, John, First Regiment, Penna. Line.
Burke, John, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
Burke, John, First Regiment, Provincial Troops, S. C.
Burke, John, Third Battalion, Maryland Line.
Burke, John, Virginia Continental Line.
Burke, John, Patterson's Massachusetts Battalion.
Burke, John, Second Regiment, New York Line.
Burke, John, Third Regiment, New York Line.
Burke, John, Virginia Navy.
Burke, John, Colonel Daniel Morgan's Rifle Corps.
Burke, John, Vermont troops, (regiment unknown).
Burke, John, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Burke, John, Penna. State Regiment of Foot.
Burke, John, Tenth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Burke, John, Third Regiment, Penna. Line.
Burke, Levy, Second Regiment, Maryland Line.
Burke, Michael, Sixth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Burke, Michael, Seventh Regiment, Maryland Line.
Burke, Michael, Salem, Massachusetts, Company.
Burke, Michael, Colonel Nixon's Mass. Regiment.
Burke, Michael, Miles' Penna. Rifle Regiment.
Burke, Matthew, Virginia Continental Line.
Burke, Philip, Philadelphia City Militia.
Burke, Peter, Colonel Haslet's Delaware Regiment.
Burke, Patrick, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment.
Burke, Patrick, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
Burke, Patrick, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Burke, Patrick, Pennsylvania Navy.
Burke, Robert, Colonel John Stark's New Hampshire Regiment.
Burke, Richard, Colonel Henley's Regiment, Penna. Line.
Burke, Samuel, Colonel Baldwin's Mass. Regiment.
Burke, Sylvanus, Colonel Vose's Mass. Regiment.
Burke, Sylvanus, Seventh Mass. Regiment of the Line.
Burke, Simeon, Vermont troops, (regiment unknown).
Burke, Thomas, Proctor's Pennsylvania Artillery.
Burke, Thomas, Tenth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Burke, Thomas, Maryland Line, (regiment unknown).
Burke, Thomas, Queen Anne's County, Maryland troops.
Burke, Thomas, Frederick County, Maryland, troops.
Burke, Thomas, Fourth Maryland Battalion.
Burke, Thomas, Captain John Evans' Mass. Company.
Burke, Thomas, Virginia Continental Line.
Burke, Thomas, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Burke, Thomas, Second Regiment, New York Line.

Burke, Thomas, Tenth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Burke, Tobias, Colonel Church's Rhode Island Regiment.
Burke, Timothy, Colonel Smith's Rhode Island Regiment.
Burke, Theophilus, Georgia troops, (regiment unknown).
Burke, Tilley, Colonel Fellows' Massachusetts Regiment.
Burke, William, Bucks County, Penna. Militia.
Burke, William, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Burke, William, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Burke, Walter, Colonel Hartley's Regiment, Penna. Line.
Burke, William, Colonel Craft's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burke, William, Schooner *Warren*, Massachusetts Navy.
Burke, William, Ship *Skyrocket*, Massachusetts Navy.
Burke, Walter, Frederick County, Maryland, troops.
Burke, William, Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion.
Burke, William, Pennsylvania Navy.
Burke, William, Sixth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Burke, Walter, New Eleventh Regiment, Penna. Line.
Burke, William, Virginia Continental Line.
Burk, Anthony, Colonel Freeman's Mass. Regiment.
Burk, Anthony, Colonel Groaton's Mass. Regiment.
Burk, Andrew, Colonel Greene's Rhode Island Regiment.
Burk, David, Colonel Smith's Rhode Island Regiment.
Burk, Daniel, Massachusetts troops, (regiment unknown).
Burk, Edward, Philadelphia County, Penna. Militia.
Burk, Edward, York County, Penna. Militia.
Burk, Elihu, Tenth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Burk, Francis, Colonel Chapin's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, George, Colonel Willett's Regiment of New York Levies.
Burk, Garret, Sixth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Burk, Henry, Colonel Willett's Regiment of New York Levies.
Burk, Hubert, First Battalion, Second Establishment, N. J. Line.
Burk, Henry, Second Regiment, N. J. Continental Line.
Burk, Henry, Colonel Smith's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, James, Sixth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Burk, James, Frederick County, Maryland, troops.
Burk, James, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Burk, Jacob, Fifth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Burk, Jeremiah, Colonel Marshall's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, Jeremiah, Colonel Shepard's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, Jesse, Fourteenth Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, John, Colonel Angell's Rhode Island Regiment.
Burk, John, Fourth Regiment, Orange County, N. Y. Militia.
Burk, John, Colonel Brewer's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, John, Captain James Lement's Mass. Seacoast Company.
Burk, John, Fourth Worcester County, Mass., Company.
Burk, John, Brigantine *Freedom*, Massachusetts Navy.

- Burk, John, Framingham, Mass., Company.
Burk, John, Colonel Porter's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, John, Colonel Greateon's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, John, Colonel Vose's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, John, Colonel Learned's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, John, Sloop *Despatch*, Massachusetts Navy.
Burk, John, Colonel Jackson's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, John, Rockingham County, Virginia, troops.
Burk, John, Colonel Rawlings' Maryland Regiment.
Burk, John, German Regiment, Maryland Line.
Burk, John, Captain Thomas Beall's Maryland Corps.
Burk, John, Philadelphia County, Penna., Militia.
Burk, John, First Regiment, New York Line.
Burk, John, York County, Penna., Militia.
Burk, Jonah, Colonel Williams' Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, Joseph, Colonel Alden's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, Joseph, Ship *Tartar*, Massachusetts Navy.
Burk, Josiah, Colonel Brooks' Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, Joseph, Colonel Little's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, Justus, Colonel Bradford's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, Justin, Colonel Chapin's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, Moses, Colonel Wesson's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, Michael, Berkeley County, Virginia, troops.
Burk, Michael, Miles' Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment.
Burk, Nicholas, Virginia State Line.
Burk, Patrick, Colonel Metcalf's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, Patrick, Crane's Massachusetts Artillery.
Burk, Patrick, First Regiment, New York Line.
Burk, Patrick, Colonel Haslet's Delaware Regiment.
Burk, Patrick, Lancaster County, Penna., Militia.
Burk, Patrick, Colonel Haven's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, Patrick, Delaware Line, (regiment unknown).
Burk, Peter, Second Regiment, Maryland Line.
Burk, Richard, Invalid Regiment, (Pennsylvania troops).
Burk, Richard, Colonel Howe's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, Richard, Colonel Henley's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, Richard, Colonel Jackson's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, Richard, Webster, Mass., Company of Minute Men.
Burk, Richard, Colonel Fellows' Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, Richard, Chesterfield, Massachusetts, Company.
Burk, Richard, Colonel Whitcomb's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, Richard, Colonel Wells' Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, Richard, Colonel Dickinson Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, Richard, Colonel Woodbridge's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, Richard, Middletown, Mass., Company.
Burk, Stephen, Washington County, Penna., Militia.

- Burk, Samuel, Virginia Continental Line.
Burk, Sylvanus, Colonel Alden's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, Thomas, Virginia Continental Line.
Burk, Thomas, York County, Penna., Militia.
Burk, Thomas, Fourth Regiment, Virginia State Line.
Burk, William, Colonel Daniel Morgan's Rifle Corps.
Burk, William, Philadelphia County, Penna., Militia.
Burk, William, Virginia Continental Line.
Burk, William, Colonel Patterson's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, William, Colonel Vose's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, William, Crane's Massachusetts Artillery.
Burk, William, Colonel Prescott's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, William, Colonel Reed's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, William, Colonel Scammon's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burk, William, Colonel Jackson's Massachusetts Regiment.
Burck, James, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Burck, John, Tenth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Burck, Michael, Thirteenth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Burck, Michael, Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot.
Burck, Richard, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Bourke, Edmund, Third Regiment, New York Line.
Bourke, George, Proctor's Pennsylvania Artillery.
Bourke, Herbert, Spencer's Regiment, New Jersey Line.
Bourke, Henry, Miles' Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment.
Bourke, John, Third Regiment, New York Line.
Bourke, John, First Regiment, New York Line.
Bourke, John, Tenth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Bourke, John, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
Bourke, John, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Bourke, John, Twelfth Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
Bourke, John, Colonel Patterson's Massachusetts Regiment.
Bourke, John, Colonel Lee's Massachusetts Regiment.
Bourke, Michael, Sixth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Bourke, Michael, Colonel Eddy's Massachusetts Regiment.
Bourke, Patrick, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment.
Bourke, Peter, New York Line, (regiment unknown).
Bourke, Thomas, Tenth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Bourke, Tobias, Colonel Daniel Morgan's Rifle Corps.
Bourke, William, Invalid Regiment, (Pennsylvania troops).
Bourke, William, Captain Lithgow's Company of Mass. Coast Artillery.
Bourke, William, McFarland's Invalid Corps.
Bourke, William, Massachusetts Artillery.
Bourke, Walter, Brigantine *Tyrannicide*, Mass. Navy.
- Canely, Patrick, New York Line (regiment unknown).
Coneley, John, Eighth Regiment, Connecticut Line.

Conely, Dennis, Col. Livingston's Battalion, New York Line.
 Conely, John, Col. Groaton's Massachusetts Regiment.
 Conely, Patrick, First Regiment, New York Line.
 Conely, Thomas, Col. Putnam's Massachusetts Regiment.
 Conely, Thomas, 1st. Regiment, Provincial troops of S. C.
 Conely, William, Medfield, Mass. Militia.
 Conlee, William, Newburg, Mass. Company.
 Conlee, William, Col. Sergeant's Massachusetts Regiment.
 Conley, Charles, 6th. Regiment, Dutchess County, N. Y. Militia.
 Conley, H., Prince George County, Md. troops.
 Conley, Jacob, Georgia Continental Brigade.
 Conley, Neal, N. J. Continental Line (regiment unknown).
 Conley, Timothy, Va. Continental Line (regiment unknown).
 Conley, William, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
 Conley, John, Capt. Abijah Rowlee's Mass. Company.
 Coul  y, John, Sheldon's Connecticut Light Dragoons.
 Conley, John, Capt. Lewis' Rhode Island Continental Company.
 Conley, Thomas, Cal. Wessons' Massachusetts Regiment.
 Conley, William, Col. Jackson's Massachusetts Regiment.
 Conley, William, Col. Cogswell's Massachusetts Regiment.
 Conly, John, Capt. Hauchett's Connecticut Company.
 Conly, John, 2nd. Regiment, Connecticut Line.
 Conly, William, Capt. Lincoln's Co. of Matrosses, Mass. Artillery.
 Connally, Edward, Col. Holman's Massachusetts Regiment.
 Connally, Francis, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Connally, James, New Jersey, Line (regiment unknown).
 Connally, James, Seventh Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Connally, James, Col. Hall's Delaware Regiment.
 Connally, John, First Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Connally, John, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Connally, John, Sixth Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Connally, John, Fourth Maryland Battalion.
 Connally, John, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
 Connally, John, Maryland Artillery.
 Connally, John, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
 Connally, Lawrence, Seventh Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Connally, Michael, Second Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Connally, Michael, Sixth Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Connally, Patrick, Georgia Continental Brigade.
 Connally, Patrick, Seventh Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Connally, Patrick, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
 Connally, Patrick, Eleventh Regiment, Penna. Line.
 Connally, Philip, Rawlings' Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Connally, Thomas, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
 Connally, Thomas, Dighton, Mass. Volunteers.
 Connally, William, Rawlings' Regiment, Maryland Line.

Connally, William, Va. Continental Line (regiment unknown).
Conneley, Jeremiah, Privateer *Cato*, Massachusetts Navy.
Conneley, James, Ship *General Mifflin*, Massachusetts Navy.
Conneley, John, Col. Putnam's Massachusetts Regiment.
Conneley, John, Col. Greateon's Massachusetts Regiment.
Conneley, Michael, Fellows' Berkshire, Mass. Brigade.
Conneley, Patrick, *Lincoln Galley*, Massachusetts Navy.
Conneley, Patrick, Col. Webb's Massachusetts Regiment.
Conneley, Patrick, Gridley's Massachusetts Artillery.
Connelley, John, Col. McIntosh's Boston, Mass. Regiment.
Connelly, Bryan, Bergen County, N. J. Militia.
Connelly, Charles, Col. Hall's Delaware Regiment.
Connelly, Daniel, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Connelly, Edward, Frederick County, Md. troops.
Connelly, George, Philadelphia City Militia.
Connelly, George, Col. Hall's Delaware Regiment.
Connelly, Henry, Third Maryland Battalion.
Connelly, Henry, Fifth Regiment, New York Line.
Connelly, Hugh, 3rd. Regiment, Tryon County, N. Y. Militia.
Connelly, Hugh, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Connelly, Hugh, Col. Hazen's Continental Regiment.
Connelly, Jacob, Col. Graham's New York Levies.
Connelly, James, Second Regiment, New York Line.
Connelly, James, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Connelly, James, Second Regiment, Penna. Line.
Connelly, John, Ninth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Connelly, John, Invalid Regiment (Penna.).
Connelly, John 3rd. Batt. 1st. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Connelly, John, 1st. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Connelly, John, Middlesex County, N. J. Militia.
Connelly, John, Monmouth County, N. J. Militia.
Connelly, John, Georgia Continental Brigade.
Connelly, John, First Regiment, Maryland Line.
Connelly, John, Prince George County, Md. troops.
Connelly, John, Fourth Maryland Battalion.
Connelly, John, Fourth Maryland Battalion.
Connelly, John, First Regiment, New York Line.
Connelly, John, Second Regiment, New York Line.
Connelly, John, Additional Corps, N. Y. Line—"Green Mountain Boys."
Connelly, John, Fifth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Connelly, John, Col. Wessenfels' New York Levies.
Connelly, John, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Connelly, John, Philadelphia City Militia.
Connelly, John, First Regiment, Penna. Line.
Connelly, John, Sixth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Connelly, John, Eleventh Regiment, Penna. Line.

Connelly, John, Seventh Regiment Penna. Line.
Connelly, John, 3rd. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Connelly, John, Col. Bond's Massachusetts Regiment.
Connelly, John, Col. Putnam's Massachusetts Regiment.
Connelly, John, Col. Francis' Massachusetts Regiment.
Connelly, John, Vermont troops.
Connelly, John, Capt. William Brown's Maryland Artillery.
Connelly, Joseph, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Connelly, Lawrence, Second Regiment, Maryland Line.
Connelly, Lawrence, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
Connelly, Lawrence, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Connelly, Michael, Col. Williams' Regiment, Maryland Line.
Connelly, Michael, Col. Simonds' Massachusetts Regiment.
Connelly, Neil, Middlesex County, N. J. Militia.
Connelly, "Patt," First Regiment, Maryland Line.
Connelly, Patrick, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
Connelly, Patrick, Seventh, Regiment, Maryland Line.
Connelly, Patrick, Third Regiment, Ulster County, N. Y. Militia.
Connelly, Patrick, Philadelphia City Militia.
Connelly, Patrick, Philadelphia City Militia.
Connelly, Patrick, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Connelly, Patrick, First Regiment, Penna. Line.
Connelly, Patrick, Col. Fellows' Massachusetts Militia.
Connelly, Patrick, Col. Hall's Delaware Regiment.
Connelly, Patrick, Massachusetts Navy.
Connelly, Patrick, Montgomery County, Md. troops.
Connelly Patrick, Col. Proctor's Massachusetts Regiment.
Connelly, Robert, Fourth Regiment, Dutchess County N. Y. Militia.
Connelly, Robert, Philadelphia County Militia.
Connelly, Robert, Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion.
Connelly, Roger, Caroline County, Md. troops.
Connelly, Simon, Invalid Regiment (Penna).
Connelly, Thomas, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Connelly, Thomas, Northampton County, Penna. Militia.
Connelly, Thomas, Proctor's Pennsylvania Artillery.
Connelly, Thomas, First Regiment, Penna. Line.
Connelly, Thomas, Col. Walker's Massachusetts Regiment.
Connelly, William, Seventh Regiment, Maryland Line.
Connelly, William, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
Connelly, William, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Connelly, William, Philadelphia City Militia.
Connelly, William, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Connelly, William, Northampton County, Penna. Militia.
Connelly, William, Massachusetts Artillery.
Connelly, William, First Regiment, Virginia Line.
Connerly, Dennis, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.

Connerly, Patrick, Dorchester County, Md. Militia.
Connerly, William, Col. Poor's New Hampshire Regiment.
Colnely, Robert, Col. Wyman's New Hampshire Regiment.
Coonley, John, Fourth Regiment, Dutchess County, N. Y. Militia.
Kanallie, John, Hazen's Additional Corps, N. Y. Line.
Kanallie, Patrick, Hazen's Additional Corps, N. Y. Line.
McConely, Nicholas, Philadelphia County Militia.
McConeley, Philip, Third Regiment, Orange County, N. Y. Militia.
McConnally, James, Second Regiment, Ulster County, N. Y. Militia.
McConnally, Patrick, Hunterdon County, N. J. Militia.
McConnely, Daniel, Dutchess County, N. Y. Militia.
McConnely, Edward, Col. Hall's Delaware Regiment.
McConnely, Hugh, First Regiment, New York Line.
McConnoly, Hugh, Philadelphia City Militia.
McConnoly, Patrick, 4th. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
McConnolley, Hugh, Third Regiment, New York Line.
O'Connolly, James, Third Regiment, New York Line.
Connolly, Andrew, Fourth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Connolly, Darby, Randolph County, W. Va. Militia.
Connolly, Edward, German Regiment, Maryland Line.
Connolly, Edward, Col. Alden's Massachusetts Regiment.
Connolly, George, First Regiment, Penna. Line.
Connolly, George, Col. Haslet's Delaware Regiment.
Connolly, Henry, Maryland State Regiment.
Connolly, Israel, Second Pennsylvania Battalion.
Connolly, James, Sheldon's Connecticut Light Dragoons.
Connolly, James, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Connolly, John, Maryland Militia.
Connolly, John, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
Connolly, John, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
Connolly, John, Third Regiment, New York Line.
Connolly, John, Second Regiment, Westchester County, N. Y. Militia.
Connolly, John, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Connolly, John, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Connolly, John, Northampton County, Penna. Militia.
Connolly, John, York County, Penna. Militia.
Connolly, John, Thompson's Penna. Rifle Battalion.
Connolly, John, Fourth Penna. Battalion.
Connolly, John, Sixth Penna. Battalion.
Connolly, John, Sloop *Providence*, Massachusetts Navy.
Connolly, John, Morgan's Rifle Corps.
Connolly, John, First Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Connolly, John, First Regiment, Connecticut Line.
Connolly, John, North Carolina Line (regiment unknown).
Connolly, Lawrence, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Connolly, Lawrence, Fourth Penna. Battalion.

Connolly, Michael, Anne Arundel County, Md. Militia.
 Connolly, Michael, Baltimore County, Md. Militia.
 Connolly, Michael, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
 Connolly, Michael, Fifth Regiment, New York Line.
 Connolly, Maurice, Pennsylvania Navy.
 Connolly, Patrick, Bucks County, Penna. Militia.
 Connolly, Patrick, New Eleventh Regiment, Penna. Line.
 Connolly, Patrick, Col. Hall's Delaware Regiment.
 Connolly, Patrick, Col. Neill's Delaware Regiment.
 Connolly, Patrick, Col. Malcom's New York Levies.
 Connolly, Patrick, Brigantine *Tyrannicide*, Massachusetts Navy.
 Connolly, Philip, York County, Penna. Militia.
 Connolly, Philip, Virginia Continental Line.
 Connolly, Roger, Maryland Militia.
 Connolly, Patrick, Capt. Bradley's Company of Connecticut Guards.
 Connolly, Thomas, Brigantine *Franklin*, Massachusetts Navy.
 Connolly, Thomas, Col. Wesson's Massachusetts Regiment.
 Connolly, Thomas, First Regiment, N. J. Continental Line.
 Connolly, Thomas, 3rd. Batt. 1st. Establishment N. J. State Line.
 Connolly, Timothy, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Connolly, Timothy, Capt. Wm. Brown's Maryland Artillery.
 Connolly, William, Col. Jackson's Massachusetts Regiment.
 Connolly, William, Newbury, Massachusetts Company.
 Connolly, William, Capt. Wm. Brown's Maryland Artillery.
 Connolly, Jacob, Col. Graham's New York Regiment.
 Connolly, James, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.
 Connolly, John, Col. Francis' Massachusetts Regiment.
 Connolly, John, West Virginia troops.
 Connolly, Michael, Sixth Regiment, Dutchess County, N. Y. Militia.
 Connolly, Michael, Delaware Line (regiment unknown).
 Connolly, William, Massachusetts Artillery.
 Connolly, William, Middlesex County, N. J. Militia.
 Connolly, William, Northampton County, Penna. Militia.
 Connolly, William, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
 Connor, Alexander, Fourth Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
 Connor, Aaron, Colonel Wesson's Massachusetts Regiment.
 Connor, Ambrose, Fifth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
 Connor, Ambrose, Ninth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
 Connor, Ambrose, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Connor, Benjamin, New Jersey State troops.
 Connor, Benjamin, Colonel Tash's New Hampshire Regiment.
 Connor, Bryan, Eighth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
 Connor, Connor, Seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
 Connor, Cornelius, Invalid Regiment (Pennsylvania).
 Connor, Cornelius, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
 Connor, Charles, Fourth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.

Connor, Charles, Seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Connor, Charles, Sixth Maryland Battalion.
Connor, Charles, Capt. Stephenson's Company, W. Va. Riflemen.
Connor, Charles, First Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Connor, Daniel, Colonel Bailey's Massachusetts Regiment.
Connor, Daniel, Colonel Pawling's Regiment, N. Y. Levies.
Connor, Daniel, Second Regiment, New York Line.
Connor, Daniel, Third Regiment, Dutchess Co., N. Y. Militia.
Connor, Daniel, Seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Connor, Daniel, Maryland Militia.
Connor, Daniel, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Connor, Daniel, Georgia Continental Line (regiment unknown).
Connor, David, Fourth Maryland Battalion.
Connor, David, Georgia Continental Line (regiment unknown).
Connor, Dennis, Invalid Regiment (Pennsylvania).
Connor, Dennis, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Connor, Edward, Sixth Regiment, Dutchess Co., N. Y. Militia.
Connor, Edward, Second Regiment, New York Line.
Connor, Edward, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
Connor, Edward, First Batt. First Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Connor, Edward, Hunterdon County, N. J. Militia.
Connor, Edward, Colonel Nixon's Massachusetts Regiment.
Connor, Eliphalet, Colonel Wingate's New Hampshire Regiment.
Connor, Felix, Pennsylvania Line (regiment unknown).
Connor, Francis, Colonel Tupper's Massachusetts Regiment.
Connor, George, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Connor, George, Middlesex County, N. J. Militia.
Connor, Henry, Pennsylvania Navy.
Connor, Henry, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Connor, Henry, Colonel Jackson's Massachusetts Regiment.
Connor, Hugh, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Connor, Isaac, Essex County, N. J. Militia.
Connor, Jacob, Pennsylvania Navy.
Connor, Jacob, Northumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Connor, James, First Regiment, New York Line.
Connor, James, Second Regiment, New York Line.
Connor, James, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.
Connor, James, Col. Harper's Regiment, N. Y. Levies.
Connor, James, Col. Pawling's Regiment, N. Y. Levies.
Connor, James, Second Regiment, Dutchess Co., N. Y. Militia.
Connor, James, Tryon County, N. Y. Militia.
Connor, James (1st.), Maryland Flying Camp Militia.
Connor, James (2nd.), Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
Connor, James, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Connor, James, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Connor, James, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.

- Connor, James, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
Connor, James, First Regiment, Penna. Line.
Connor, James, Fifth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Connor, James, Fourth Penna. Battalion.
Connor, James, Benton's South Carolina Rangers.
Connor, James, Tenth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Connor, Jacob, Seventh Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Connor, Jeremiah, Colonel Stark's New Hampshire Regiment.
Connor, John, Second Regiment, Dutchess Co., N. Y. Militia.
Connor, John, Sixth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Connor, John, Philadelphia City Militia.
Connor, John, Col. Doolittle's Massachusetts Regiment.
Connor, John, Frederick County, Va. troops.
Connor, John, Jr., Third Regiment, Ulster Co., N. Y. Militia.
Connor, John, Col. Arnold's Detachment, Massachusetts troops.
Connor, John, Sixth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Connor, John, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.
Connor, John, Col. Bartlett's New Hampshire Regiment.
Connor, John, Tenth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Connor, John, Continental ship *Cabot*.
Connor, John, Georgia Continental Line (regiment unknown).
Connor, John, Fourth Maryland Battalion.
Connor, John, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
Connor, John, Second Regiment, Penna. Line.
Connor, John, Miles' Penna. Rifle Regiment.
Connor, John, Third Regiment, Ulster Co., N. Y. Militia.
Connor, John, Second Regiment, Ulster Co., N. Y. Militia.
Connor, John, Twelfth Regiment, Albany Co., N. Y. Militia.
Connor, John, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.
Connor, John, Philadelphia City Militia.
Connor, John, York County, Penna. Militia.
Connor, John, Westmoreland County, Penna. Militia.
Connor, John, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Connor, John, First Regiment, Penna. Line.
Connor, John, Eighth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Connor, John, Ninth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Connor, John, Pennsylvania Navy.
Connor, John, Sr., First Partisan Legion, Pennsylvania.
Connor, John, Jr., First Partisan Legion, Pennsylvania.
Connor, John, Lamb's New York Artillery.
Connor, Joseph, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Connor, Joseph, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.
Connor, Joseph, Col. Smith's Massachusetts Regiment.
Connor, Joseph, Col. Baldwin's New Hampshire Regiment.
Connor, Joseph, Major William Rogers' Rhode Island Company.
Connor, Joseph, Col. Evans' New Hampshire Regiment.

Connor, Lewis, Thompson's South Carolina Rangers.
Connor, Littleton, Col. Hutchinson's Massachusetts Regiment.
Connor, Michael, Philadelphia City Militia.
Connor, Michael, Dorchester County, Maryland Militia.
Connor, Michael, Brig *Hazard*, Massachusetts Navy.
Connor, Matthew, Fifth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Connor, Matthew, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Connor, Matthew, Second Regiment, Maryland Line.
Connor, Matthew, Morris County, New Jersey Militia.
Connor, Matthew, Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion.
Connor, Martin, Fourth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Connor, Moses, Colonel Stark's New Hampshire Regiment.
Connor, Maurice, Col. Marshall's Massachusetts Regiment.
Connor, Patrick, Capt. McDowell's Co., 7th Reg't. Penna. Line.
Connor, Patrick, Capt. Miller's Co., 7th. Reg't. Penna. Line.
Connor, Patrick, Capt. Lusk's Co., 7th. Reg't. Penna. Line.
Connor, Patrick, Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion.
Connor, Patrick, Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion.
Connor, Patrick, Fourth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Connor, Patrick, Third Regiment, Penna. Line.
Connor, Patrick, Hartley's Regiment, Penna. Line.
Connor, Patrick, Salem County, N. J. Militia.
Connor, Patrick, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.
Connor, Patrick, Sixth Reg't., Dutchess Co., N. Y. Militia.
Connor, Patrick, Continental frigate, *Boston*.
Connor, Philip, First Regiment, Penna. Line.
Connor, Philip, Thompson's Batt., Penna. Riflemen.
Connor, Philip, Virginia Continental Line.
Connor, Philip, Virginia State Line.
Connor, Samuel, Invalid Regiment (Pennsylvania).
Connor, Samuel, Colonel Tash's New Hampshire Regiment.
Connor, Samuel, Second Regiment, N. H. Continental Line.
Connor, Simon, Second Regiment, Albany Co., N. Y. Militia.
Connor, Simon, Capt. Atkinson's New Hampshire Company.
Connor, Thomas, Fifth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Connor, Thomas, Eleventh Regiment, Penna. Line.
Connor, Thomas, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Connor, Thomas, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Connor, Thomas, Berks County, Penna. Militia.
Connor, Thomas, Monmouth County, N. J. Militia.
Connor, Thomas, Thompson's South Carolina Rangers.
Connor, Thomas, Charleston, S. C. Regiment of Foot.
Connor, Thomas, Col. Marshall's Massachusetts Regiment.
Connor, Thomas, Brig *Deane*, Massachusetts Navy.
Connor, Timothy, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Connor, Timothy, Invalid Regiment (Pennsylvania).

Connor, Timothy, Queen Anne's County, Md. troops.
Connor, Timothy, Second Regiment, New York Line.
Connor, Timothy, First Regiment, New York Line.
Connor, Timothy, Second Regiment, New Jersey Line.
Connor, Timothy, Salem County, New Jersey Militia.
Connor, Timothy, Sloop *Fox*, Massachusetts Navy.
Connor, Timothy, First Maryland Battalion.
Connor, Timothy, Thompson's Penna. Rifle Regiment.
Connor, William, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
Connor, William, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Connor, William, Twelfth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Connor, William, Col. Pawling's Regiment, N. Y. Levies.
Connor, William, Col. Groaton's Massachusetts Regiment.
Connor, William, Col. Little's Massachusetts Regiment.
Connor, William, Second Regiment, New York Line.
Connor, William, Col. Allen's Massachusetts Artillery.
Connor, William, Seventh Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Connor, William, Eighth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Conner, Barney, First Partisan Legion, Penna.
Conner, Cornelius, Philadelphia City Militia.
Conner, Cornelius, Westmoreland County, Penna. Militia.
Conner, Cornelius, Sixth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Conner, Cornelius, West Virginia troops.
Conner, Charles, First Regiment, Penna. Line.
Conner, Charles, Seventh Regiment, Penna. Line.
Conner, Charles, Col. McCobb's Massachusetts Regiment.
Conner, Daniel, Northumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Conner, Daniel, Philadelphia City Militia.
Conner, Daniel, Col. Fellows' Massachusetts Regiment.
Conner, Daniel, Caroline County, Md. troops.
Conner, Daniel, Col. Knowlton's Connecticut troops.
Conner, David, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Conner, David, Second Regiment, Maryland Line.
Conner, Darby, Colonel Neill's Delaware Regiment.
Conner, Dennis, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Conner, Edward, Pennsylvania Navy.
Conner, Edward, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Conner, Edward, Fourth Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Conner, Edward, Col. Hall's Delaware Regiment.
Conner, Edward, Col. Haslet's Delaware Regiment.
Conner, Edward, Virginia Continental Line.
Conner, Edward, Arnold's Detachment, Mass. troops.
Conner, Edmund, Ship *Skyrocket*, Mass. Navy.
Conner, E., Vermont troops.
Conner, Francis, Major Heath's Massachusetts Guards.
Conner, George, Second Pennsylvania Battalion.

Conner, George, Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion.
Conner, Hugh, Sixth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Conner, Hugh, Dutchess County, N. Y. Militia.
Conner, James, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Conner, James, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
Conner, James, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Conner, James, Col. Mansfield's Mass. Regiment.
Conner, James, Ship *General Putnam*, Mass. Navy.
Conner, James, Col. Hall's Delaware Regiment.
Conner, James, Third Reg't. Dutchess Co., N. Y. Militia.
Conner, James, Virginia Continental Line.
Conner, John, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
Conner, John, Philadelphia City Militia.
Conner, John, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Conner, John, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Conner, John, Sr., Fifth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Conner, John, Jr., Fifth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Conner, John, Pennsylvania Navy.
Conner, John, Eighth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Conner, John, Eleventh Regiment, Penna. Line.
Conner, John, Second Regiment, Maryland Line.
Conner, John, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
Conner, John, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
Conner, John, Col. Fellows' Mass. Regiment.
Conner, John, Col. Shepard's Mass. Regiment.
Conner, John, Gen'l. Patterson's Mass. Battalion.
Conner, John, Col. Hall's Delaware Regiment.
Conner, John, Col. Haslet's Delaware Regiment.
Conner, John, West Virginia troops.
Conner, John, First Regiment, Virginia Line.
Conner, John, Virginia State Line.
Conner, John, Third Regiment, Conn. Line.
Conner, John, St. Clair's Penna. Battalion.
Conner, John, Col. Doolittle's Mass. Regiment.
Conner, Joseph, Capt. Hancock's Newbury, Mass. Company.
Conner, Joseph, Sheldon's Conn. Light Dragoons.
Conner, Joseph, Col. Stark's New Hampshire Reg't.
Conner, Lewis, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Conner, Mark, Philadelphia City Militia.
Conner, Matthew, 2nd. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Conner, Matthew, First Regiment, Conn. Line.
Conner, Michael, Second Regiment, Maryland Line.
Conner, Michael, Ship *General Putnam*, Mass. Navy.
Conner, Owen, Col. Patterson's Mass. Regiment.
Conner, Owen, Col. Preston's Mass. Regiment.
Conner, Patrick, Second Regiment, New York Line.

Conner, Patrick, Second Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Conner, Peter, Fifth Penna. Battalion.
 Conner, Richard, Morgan's Virginia Riflemen.
 Conner, Robert, Ship *Defence*, Maryland Navy.
 Conner, Samuel, Col. Scammel's N. H. Regiment.
 Conner, Simon, Philadelphia City Militia.
 Conner, Terrance, Company No. 2, Morgan's Riflemen.
 Conner, Terrence, Co. No. 9, Morgan's Riflemen.
 Conner, Thomas, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
 Conner, Thomas, York County, Penna. Militia.
 Conner, Thomas, First Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Conner, Thomas, Elliott's Rhode Island Artillery.
 Conner, Timothy, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
 Conner, Timothy, Kent County, Maryland troops.
 Conner, Timothy, 2nd. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
 Conner, Timothy, 4th. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
 Conner, Timothy, Arnold's Detachment, Mass. troops.
 Conner, Timothy, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.
 Conner, William, Col. Malcolm's Reg't. New York Levies.
 Conner, William, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
 Conner, William, Second Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Conner, William, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Conner, William, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Conner, William, Sixth Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Conner, William, Lieut. Col. Baldwin's Mass. Guards.
 Conner, William, Col. Little's Mass. Regiment.
 Conner, William, Col. Brewer's Mass. Regiment.
 Conner, William, Ship *General Putnam*, Mass. Navy.
 Conner, William, Col. Haslet's Delaware Regiment.
 Conner, William, Fourth Maryland Battalion.
 Conner, William, Worcester County, Md. troops.
 Connors, Edmund, Col. Sergeant's Mass. Regiment.
 Connors, John, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
 Connors, Benjamin, Galley *Hyder Ally*, Mass. Navy.
 Connors, Benjamin, Tenth Regiment, N. C. Line.
 Connors, James, Col. Mansfield's Mass. Regiment.
 Connors, John, Col. Nixon's Mass. Regiment.
 Connors, John, Tenth Regiment, N. C. Line.
 Connors, John, Tenth Regiment, N. C. Line.
 Connors, Joseph, Col. Greene's Mass. Regiment.
 Connors, Nathaniel, Third Regiment, S. C. Line.
 Connors, William, Tenth Regiment, N. C. Line.
 Connors, William, Tenth Regiment, N. C. Line.
 Connyrs, Dennis, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
 Connyrs, James, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
 Conyers, Dennis, Washington County, Penna. Militia.

Conyers, John, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Conyers, John, Georgia Continental Brigade.
Conyers, William, George Continental Brigade.
McConner, James, Col. Prescott's Mass. Regiment.
McConner, James, Col. Jackson's Mass. Regiment.
McConnor, James, Second Mass. Regiment.
McConner, Joseph, Hingham, Mass. Company.
McConnor, James, Hollis, N. H. Company of Minute Men.
O'Conner, Bryan, Philadelphia City Militia.
O'Connor, Cornelius, Invalid Regiment (Pennsylvania).
O'Connor, Dennis, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
O'Connor, Edward, New York troops (regiment unknown).
O'Connor, Eliphalet, Col. Senter's New Hampshire Regiment.
O'Connor, John, Seventh Regiment, Penna. Line.
O'Connor, John, Fourth Maryland Battalion.
O'Connor, John, Tenth Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Connor, John, Eighth Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Connor, John, Delaware troops (regiment unknown).
O'Connor, John, Philadelphia City Artillery.
O'Connor, Michael, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
O'Connor, Morgan, Seventh Regiment, Penna. Line.
O'Connor, Timothy, Virginia Continental Line.
O'Connor, William, Col. Hazen's Continental Regiment.

Doherty, Andrew, Pennsylvania State Reg't. of Foot.
Doherty, Archibald, Pennsylvania State Reg't. of Foot.
Doherty, Anthony, Pennsylvania State Reg't. of Foot.
Doherty, Anthony, Atlee's Penna. Musketry Battalion.
Doherty, Barnabas, Pennsylvania State Reg't. of Foot.
Doherty, Barneby, Third Penna. Battalion.
Doherty, Benjamin, Col. Neill's Delaware Regiment.
Doherty, George, Sixth Reg't., North Carolina Line.
Doherty, James, Second Regiment, Penna. Line.
Doherty, John, York County, Penna. Militia.
Doherty, John, Ninth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Doherty, Michael, Georgia Continental Brigade.
Doherty, Michael, Sr., Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Doherty, Michael, Jr., Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Doherty, Michael, Col. Greene's Rhode Island Regiment.
Doherty, Patrick, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Doherty, Richard, Tenth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Doherty, Thomas, Fourth Regiment, Orange Co., N. Y. Militia.
Doherty, Thomas, Third Regiment, New York Line.
Doherty, Charles, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Doherty, John, Essex County, N. J. Militia.

Doharty, Peter, South Carolina Line (regiment unknown).
Doharty, Arthur, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Doharty, Barney, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Doharty, Francis, First Regiment, Maryland Line.
Doharty, Jesse, First Regiment, Maryland Line.
Dougherty, Archibald, Fifth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Dougherty, Anthony, First Regiment, N. J., Continental Line.
Dougherty, Anthony, Spencer's Regiment, N. J., Continental Line.
Dougherty, Anthony, Berks County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Anthony, Philadelphia City Militia.
Dougherty, Anthony, 1st Batt. 2nd Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Dougherty, Barnaby, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Dougherty, Barney, Miles' Penna. Rifle Regiment.
Dougherty, Barney, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Bernard, Third Regiment, Penna. Line.
Dougherty, Bernard, Fifth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Dougherty, Charles, Col. Brewer's Massachusetts Regiment.
Dougherty, Charles, Col. Whitcomb's Mass. Regiment.
Dougherty, Charles, Col. Wigglesworth's Mass. Regiment.
Dougherty, Charles, Vermont troops.
Dougherty, Charles, 1st. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Dougherty, Charles, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Charles, Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion.
Dougherty, Charles, Col. Learned's Mass. Regiment.
Dougherty, Cornelius, First Regiment, Penna. Line.
Dougherty, Cornelius, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Cornelius, Thompson's Penna. Rifle Battalion.
Dougherty, Cornelius, 10th Regiment, Albany Co., N. Y. Militia.
Dougherty, Cornelius, First Regiment, New York Line.
Dougherty, Cornelius, West Virginia troops.
Dougherty, Daniel, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
Dougherty, Daniel, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Daniel, First Regiment, Penna. Line.
Dougherty, Daniel, York County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Dempsey, Second Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Dougherty, Dennis, Frigate *Deane*, Mass. Navy.
Dougherty, Dennis, Seventh Regiment, Maryland Line.
Dougherty, Dennis, Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion.
Dougherty, Dennis, Lancaster Co., Pa. Militia, Gilchrist's Company.
Dougherty, Dennis, Lancaster Co., Pa. Militia, Rutherford's Company.
Dougherty, Dennis, Philadelphia City Militia.
Dougherty, Dennis, Sloop *Defence*, Maryland Navy.
Dougherty, Dudley, Westmoreland County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Edward, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Edward, York County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Edward, Hazen's Continental Regiment (Penna.).

Dougherty, Edward, Hazen's Continental Regiment (N. H.).
Dougherty, Edward, Gloucester County, N. J. Militia.
Dougherty, Edmund, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Frederick, Cumberland, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, George, First Regiment, Penna. Line.
Dougherty, George, Third Regiment, Penna. Line.
Dougherty, George, Ninth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Dougherty, George, Cumberland County, Penna. Line.
Dougherty, George, Second Penna. Battalion.
Dougherty, George, Philadelphia City Militia.
Dougherty, George, Thompson's Penna. Rifle Regiment.
Dougherty, Henry, Pennsylvania Navy.
Dougherty, Henry, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Henry, Northumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Henry, Philadelphia City Militia.
Dougherty, Henry, 1st. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Dougherty, Henry, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Hugh, Pennsylvania Navy.
Dougherty, Hugh, Westmoreland County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Hugh, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Hugh, York County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Hugh, Miles' Penna. Rifle Regiment.
Dougherty, James, Third Regiment, Penna. Line.
Dougherty, James, Ninth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Dougherty, James, Northumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, James, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment.
Dougherty, James, Connecticut Artillery Artificers.
Dougherty, James, Sr., First Regiment, Penna. Line.
Dougherty, James, Jr., First Regiment, Penna. Line.
Dougherty, James, Fifth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Dougherty, James, Eighth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Dougherty, James, Twelfth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Dougherty, James, Pennsylvania Navy.
Dougherty, James, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, James, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, James, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, James, Lancaster, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, James, Robinson's Penna. Rangers.
Dougherty, James, Hartley's Penna. Regiment.
Dougherty, James, Thompson's Penna. Rifle Battalion.
Dougherty, James, 3rd. Batt. 1st. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Dougherty, James, 2nd. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Dougherty, James, Charleston, S. C. Volunteer Horse.
Dougherty, James, York County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, James, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, James, Philadelphia City Militia.

Dougherty, James, Middlesex County, N. J. Militia.
Dougherty, James, First Penna. Battalion.
Dougherty, John, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Dougherty, John, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.
Dougherty, John, First Regiment, New York Line.
Dougherty, John, Second Regiment, New York Line.
Dougherty, John, 1st. Batt. 2nd Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Dougherty, John, First Regiment, N. J. Continental Line.
Dougherty, John, Lee's Legion, N. J. Line.
Dougherty, John, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, John, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, John, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, John, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, John, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, John, Northumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, John, Phila. County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, John, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, John, York County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, John, Second Regiment, Penna. Line.
Dougherty, John, First Regiment, Penna. Line.
Dougherty, John, Miles' Penna. Rifle Regiment.
Dougherty, John, Thompson's Penna. Rifle Battalion.
Dougherty, John, Sixth Penna. Battalion.
Dougherty, John, Pennsylvania Navy.
Dougherty, John, Somerset Company, N. J. Militia.
Dougherty, John, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
Dougherty, John, Col. Brewer's Massachusetts Regiment.
Dougherty, John, Col. Whitcomb's Massachusetts Regiment.
Dougherty, John, Crane's Massachusetts Artillery.
Dougherty, John, Col. Putnam's Massachusetts Regiment.
Dougherty, John, Ritchie County, W. Va. troops.
Dougherty, John, New Castle County, Del. Militia.
Dougherty, John, First Regiment, Virginia Cont. Line.
Dougherty, Mark, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.
Dougherty, Mathias, First Regiment, Penna. Line.
Dougherty, Matthew, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Mathew, York County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Matthew, Thompson's Penna. Rifle Battalion.
Dougherty, Michael, Harford County, Maryland troops.
Dougherty, Michael, Fourth Maryland Battalion.
Dougherty, Michael, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Dougherty, Michael, Sixth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Dougherty, Michael, Capt. Harris' Company, Md. Flying Camp.
Dougherty, Michael, Courtenay's Penna. Artillery.
Dougherty, Michael, Col. Brewer's Mass. Regiment.
Dougherty, Michael, Col. Whitcomb's Mass. Regiment.

Dougherty, Michael, Pennsylvania Navy.
Dougherty, Michael, Colonel Neill's Delaware Reg't.
Dougherty, Michael, Delaware Militia.
Dougherty, Michael, Providence, R. I. Company.
Dougherty, Michael, Col. Marshall's Mass. Regiment.
Dougherty, Mordecai, Eighth Reg't., Penna. Line.
Dougherty, Moses, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Nathaniel, Col. Hall's Delaware Regiment.
Dougherty, Neil, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Patrick, Charleston, S. C. Volunteer Horse.
Dougherty, Patrick, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Patrick, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Patrick, Virginia Continental Line.
Dougherty, Peter, 1st. Reg't., N. J. Continental Line.
Dougherty, Peter, 1st. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Dougherty, Peter, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Peter, Cumberland, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Philip, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Robert, York County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Roger, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Roger, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
Dougherty, Samuel, Capt. Cooper's Barre, Mass. Company.
Dougherty, Thomas, Col. Craft's Massachusetts Artillery.
Dougherty, Thomas, Col. Brewer's Massachusetts Regiment.
Dougherty, Thomas, Bucks County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Thomas, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, Thomas, Capt. Ward's Westerly, R. I. Company.
Dougherty, William, Second Pennsylvania Battalion.
Dougherty, William, Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion.
Dougherty, William, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, William, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, William, Northumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, William, Northumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, William, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, William, York County, Penna. Militia.
Dougherty, William, Fifth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Dougherty, William, Robinson's Penna. Rangers.
Dougherty, William, Col. Brewer's Mass. Regiment.
Dougherty, William, First Regiment, New York Line.
Dougherty, William, Fifth Regiment, New York Line.
Dougherty, William, 4th. Reg't., Orange County, N. Y. Militia.
Daugharty, John, Col. Brewer's Mass. Regiment.
Daugharty, John, Stevens' Mass. Artillery.
Daugharty, Patrick, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Daugharty, Michael, Col. Marshall's Mass. Regiment.
Daugherty, Edmund, Capt. Robert Harris' Co., Md. Flying Camp.

Daugherty, Patrick, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
 Daugherty, William, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
 Daugherty, William, Third Regiment, Penna. Line.
 Daugherty, Benjamin, Col. Haslet's Delaware Regiment.
 Daugherty, James, Col. Haslet's Delaware Regiment.
 Daugherty, John, Frederick County, Md. troops.
 Daugherty, Patrick, New Castle County, Del. Militia.
 Docherty, Cornelius, 3rd. Reg't., Ulster County, N. Y. Militia.
 Docherty, George, Sixth Regiment, Penna. Line.
 Docherty, George, St. Clair's Penna. Battalion.
 Docherty, James, Sixth Regiment, Penna. Line.
 Docherty, John, Virginia Continental Line.
 Docherty, John, Charleston, S. C. Volunteer Horse.
 Docherty, John, New 11th Regiment, Penna. Line.
 Docherty, Joseph, Arnold's Detachment, Mass. troops.
 Docherty, Michael, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment.
 Docherty, William, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
 Doucherty, William, Sixth Penna. Battalion.
 Docherty, John, 1st. Reg't., N. J. Continental Line.
 Dogharty, Charles, Bergen County, N. J. Militia.
 Dogharty, James, Third Regiment, S. C. Line.
 Dogharty, Neil, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
 Dogharty, John, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
 Doherd, John, Hunterdon County, N. J. Militia.
 Doherd, William, 4th. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
 Doherd, John, 4th. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
 Dorety, Jesse, Dorset County, N. Y. Militia.
 Dority, Francis, First Regiment, New York Line.
 Dority, Charles, Col. Cilley's New Hampshire Reg't.
 Dorrity, William, First Regiment, New York Line.
 Dority, William, Second Regiment, New York Line.
 Doghorthy, Mark, First Regiment, New York Line.
 Droharty, William, Col. Bradford's Mass. Regiment.
 Dorathy, Charles, Col. Bedell's New Hampshire Reg't.
 Dorothy, Michael, Col. Elliott's Rhode Island Artillery.
 Doughaty, John, First Regiment, New York Line.

Kelley, Andrew, New Eleventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
 Kelley, Andrew, Virginia Continental Line.
 Kelley, Andrew, Colonel Little's Massachusetts Regiment.
 Kelley, Andrew, Colonel Wheelock's Massachusetts Regiment.
 Kelley, Abraham, Additional Corps of New York Levies.
 Kelley, Abraham, Vermont troops - "Green Mountain Boys."
 Kelley, Abraham, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
 Kelley, Abner, Harwich, Massachusetts Company.
 Kelley, Abner, Frigate *Boston*, Massachusetts Navy.

- Kelley, Aaron, Captain Langdon's Company of Boothbay, Maine.
Kelley, Aaron, Lieut. John Jones' Volunteer Scouts.
Kelley, Alexander, Colonel Bullard's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, Alexander, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Alexander, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Alexander, Colonel Reed's New Hampshire Militia.
Kelley, Anthony, Colonel Merrill's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, Alexander, Vermont troops.
Kelley, Bartholomew, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment.
Kelley, Benjamin, Sixth Regiment, Connecticut Line.
Kelley, Beriah, Seventh Regiment, Connecticut Line.
Kelley, Charles, Seventh Pennsylvania Battalion.
Kelley, Charles, Knowlton's Connecticut Rangers.
Kelley, Charles, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Cornelius, Third Massachusetts Artillery.
Kelley, Conrad, Second Regiment, New York Line.
Kelley, Christopher, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Christopher, Colonel Jackson's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, Daniel, Captain Ormsbee's Warren, R. I. Company.
Kelley, Daniel, Eighth Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
Kelley, Daniel, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Daniel, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Daniel, Northumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Daniel, Fifth Pennsylvania Battalion.
Kelley, Daniel, Captain Jonathan Drown's Massachusetts Company.
Kelley, David, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
Kelley, David, Colonel Sprout's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, David, Colonel Brewer's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, David, Colonel Wheelock's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, David, Third Regiment, Worcester County, Mass.
Kelley, David, Tenth Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, David, Capt. Joshua Gray's Massachusetts Company.
Kelley, David, Captain Smith Emerson's New Hampshire Company.
Kelley, David, Colonel Hazen's Continental Regiment.
Kelley, David, Third Regiment, Dutchess County, N. Y. Militia.
Kelley, Dennis, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.
Kelley, Dennis, Fifth Pennsylvania Battalion.
Kelley, Dennis, First Maryland Battalion.
Kelley, Dennis, Thompson's Pennsylvania Riflemen.
Kelley, Dennis, Sloop *Winthrop*, Massachusetts Navy.
Kelley, Dennis, New Castle County, Delaware Militia.
Kelley, Dennis, Colonel Arnold's Detachment of Massachusetts troops.
Kelley, Edward, Colonel Smith's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, Edward, Third Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, Edward, Captain Thomas Whipple's Company of Mass. Guards.
Kelley, Edward, Captain David Copp's New Hampshire Company.

- Kelley, Edward, Georgia Continental Line (regiment unknown).
Kelley, Edward, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Edward, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Edward, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Edward, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Edward, York County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Edward, Eighth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelley, Edward, Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion.
Kelley, Edward, Sixth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelley, Elias, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Elijah, Essex County, Massachusetts troops.
Kelley, Eleazar, Colonel Vose's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, Elias, Vermont troops.
Kelley, E., Colonel Stark's New Hampshire Regiment.
Kelley, Francis, Seventh Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelley, George, Second Regiment, Tryon County, N. Y. Militia.
Kelley, George, Colonel Howe's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, George, Suffolk County, Massachusetts troops.
Kelley, Giles, Colonel Cilley's New Hampshire Regiment.
Kelley, Henry, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Henry, Philadelphia County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Isaac, Philadelphia County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Isaac, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.
Kelley, Jeremiah, Sixth Regiment, Connecticut Line.
Kelley, Jacob, Georgia Continental Line (regiment unknown).
Kelley, James, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, James, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, James, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, James, Northampton County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, James, First Pennsylvania Battalion.
Kelley, James, Atlee's Pennsylvania Musketry Battalion.
Kelley, James, First Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelley, James, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
Kelley, James, Second Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, James, Colonel Patterson's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, James, Colonel Gridley's Massachusetts Artillery.
Kelley, James, Connecticut Artillery Artificers.
Kelley, James, Second Philadelphia Regiment of Foot.
Kelley, James, Fourth Regiment, New Hampshire Line.
Kelley, James, Second Regiment, New Hampshire Line.
Kelley, James, Fifth Regiment, New York Line.
Kelley, Jonathan, Sixth Regiment, Dutchess County, N. Y. Militia.
Kelley, Jonathan, Colonel Cilley's New Hampshire Regiment.
Kelley, Jonathan, First Regiment, New Hampshire Line.
Kelley, Johnston, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Joshua, Fifth Regiment, New York Line.

Kelley, John, Additional Corps of the New York Line.
Kelley, John, Fourth Regiment, Orange County, N. Y. Militia.
Kelley, John, Seventh Regiment, Dutchess County, N. Y. Militia.
Kelley, John, Sixth Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
Kelley, John, Third Regiment, Ulster County, N. Y. Militia.
Kelley, John, Captain William Reiley's Maryland troops.
Kelley, John, Georgia Continental Brigade.
Kelley, John, Sixth Regiment, Dutchess County, N. Y. Militia.
Kelley, John, Bucks County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, John, Bucks County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, John, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, John, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, John, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, John, Northampton County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, John, Northampton County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, John, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, John, Northumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, John, Northumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, John, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, John, York County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, John, Thompson's Pennsylvania Riflemen.
Kelley, John, Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelley, John, Moylan's Fourth Pennsylvania Dragoons.
Kelley, John, Colonel Patterson's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, John, Colonel Jackson's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, John, Third Massachusetts Artillery.
Kelley, John, Colonel Scammon's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, John, Colonel Phinney's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, John, Colonel Glover's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, John, Colonel Woodbridge's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, John, General Ward's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, John, Tenth Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, John, Colonel Dudley's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, John, Colonel Whitcomb's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, John, Colonel Danielson's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, John, Colonel Rice's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, John, Colonel Vose's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, John, Colonel Wesson's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, John, Ship *Putnam*, Massachusetts Navy.
Kelley, John, Colonel Arnold's Detachment of Massachusetts troops.
Kelley, John, Shirley, Massachusetts Company.
Kelley, John, Vermont troops.
Kelley, John, Henry County, Virginia Militia.
Kelley, John, Third Regiment, Connecticut Line.
Kelley, John, Ship *Cromwell*, Connecticut Navy.
Kelley, John, Virginia State Line.

- Kelley, Joseph, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Joseph, Northampton County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Joseph, Jr., Northampton County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Joseph, Northampton County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Joseph, Third Regiment, Lincoln County, Maine.
Kelley, Joseph, Captain Ormsbee's Company, Warren, R. I. Militia.
Kelley, Joshua, Twenty-sixth Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, Joshua, Sixth Regiment, Connecticut Line.
Kelley, Lawrence, Northumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Lawrence, Third Battalion, Wadsworth's Connecticut Brigade.
Kelley, Levi, Colonel Freeman's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, Longley, Colonel Johnson's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, Luke, Colonel Mitchell's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, Mathias, Miles' Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment.
Kelley, Matthew, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Matthew, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Matthew, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
Kelley, Matthew, Colonel Henley's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, Matthew, Colonel Sherburne's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, Matthew, Colonel Jackson's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, Matthew, Miles' Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment.
Kelley, Michael, Fourth Regiment, Orange County, N. Y. Militia.
Kelley, Michael, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelley, Michael, Fifth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelley, Michael, Sixth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelley, Michael, Colonel Greene's Rhode Island Foot Regiment.
Kelley, Michael, Colonel Mooney's New Hampshire Regiment.
Kelley, Mitchell, Fifth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelley, Mordecai, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Morris, Colonel Bigelow's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, Moses, Colonel Porter's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, Moses, Colonel Brewer's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, Moses, Third Battalion, Wadsworth's Connecticut Brigade.
Kelley, Nathan, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Nathaniel, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Nathaniel, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Nathaniel, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Nathaniel, Colonel Mooney's New Hampshire Regiment.
Kelley, Patrick, First Regiment, New York Line.
Kelley, Patrick, Third Regiment, New York Line.
Kelley, Patrick, Colonel Pawling's Regiment of New York Levies.
Kelley, Patrick, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Patrick, Northampton County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Patrick, German Regiment of Pennsylvania.
Kelley, Patrick, Miles' Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment.
Kelley, Patrick, Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot.

Kelley, Patrick, Saint Mary's County, Maryland troops.
Kelley, Patrick, Colonel Patterson's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, Patrick, Colonel Greateon's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, Patrick, Colonel Hatch's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, Patrick, Suffolk County, Massachusetts troops.
Kelley, Patrick, Colonel Arnold's Detachment of Massachusetts troops.
Kelley, Peter, Fourth Regiment, Orange County, N. Y. Militia.
Kelley, Peter, Colonel Putnam's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, Peter, Colonel Mitchell's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, Peter, Colonel Phinney's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, Reuben, Third Regiment, Dutchess County, N. Y. Militia.
Kelley, Richard, Captain Jacob Webster's New Hampshire Company.
Kelley, Robert, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Robert, Colonel Holman's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, Robert, Colonel Dike's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, Robert, New York Naval Service.
Kelley, Robert, Third Regiment, New York Line.
Kelley, Robert, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.
Kelley, Samuel, Delaware Militia.
Kelley, Samuel, Colonel Stark's New Hampshire Regiment.
Kelley, Samuel, Vermont troops.
Kelley, Samuel, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Samuel, Third Regiment, South Carolina Line.
Kelley, Samuel, Colonel Mooney's New Hampshire Regiment.
Kelley, Seymour, Hampshire County, Mass. troops.
Kelley, Silvanus, Fourth Regiment, Dutchess County, N. Y. troops.
Kelley, Stephen, Craft's Massachusetts Artillery.
Kelley, Stephen, Colonel Daggit's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, Thomas, Georgia Continental Line (regiment unknown).
Kelley, Thomas, Third Regiment, New York Line.
Kelley, Thomas, Second Regiment, Tryon County, N. Y. Militia.
Kelley, Thomas, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Thomas, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Thomas, Jr., Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, Thomas, Miles' Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment.
Kelley, Thomas, Second Pennsylvania Battalion.
Kelley, Thomas, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelley, Thomas, Seventh Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelley, Thomas, Lanesborough, Massachusetts, Company.
Kelley, Thomas, Colonel Gerrish's Massachusetts Guards.
Kelley, Thomas, Tender, *General Hospital*.
Kelley, Timothy, Colonel Eno's Connecticut Militia Regiment.
Kelley, Timothy, Colonel Hazen's Continental Regiment.
Kelley, "Verny," Yarmouth, Massachusetts Company.
Kelley, William, Georgia Continental Line (regiment unknown).
Kelley, William, Second Regiment, Dutchess County, N. Y. Militia.

- Kelley, William, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, William, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, William, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, William, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Kelley, William, Sixth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelley, William, Seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelley, William, Ninth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelley, William, Pennsylvania Artillery Artificers.
Kelley, William, Third Regiment, Lincoln County, Maine.
Kelley, William, Colonel Gerrish's Massachusetts Guards.
Kelley, William, Twenty-fifth Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, William, Colonel Jackson's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, William, Colonel Sprout's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, William, Colonel Vose's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, William, Colonel Senter's New Hampshire Regiment.
Kelley, William, Colonel Ward's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, William, Brigantine *Freedom*, Massachusetts Navy.
Kelley, William, Sloop *Providence*, Massachusetts Navy.
Kelley, William, Frigate *Boston*, Continental Navy.
Kelley, William, Captain Morgan's Company, Hampshire and Worcester Counties, Massachusetts troops.
Kelley, William, Colonel McCobb's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelley, William, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment.
Kelley, William, Captain Hugh Stephenson's West Virginia Riflemen.
Kelley, William, Vermont troops.
Kelley, William, Dutchess County, New York Militia.
Kelley, William, Colonel Long's New Hampshire Regiment.
Kelley, William, Barrington, Rhode Island Militia Guards.
Kelly, Andrew, Virginia Continental Line (regiment unknown).
Kelly, Andrew, Colonel Thayer's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, Andrew, Colonel Francis' Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, Andrew, Colonel Reed's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, Andrew, Crane's Massachusetts Artillery.
Kelly, Anthony, Stevens' New York Artillery.
Kelly, Aaron, Schooner *General Putnam*, Massachusetts Navy.
Kelly, Abijah, Colonel Johnson's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, Abner, Colonel Cushing's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, Abner, Colonel Wells' Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, Abner, Colonel Samuel Carr's Springfield, Mass. Company.
Kelly, Andrew, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, Abel, Philadelphia County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, Abram, Fourth Regiment, Orange County, N. Y. Militia.
Kelly, Abram, Middlesex County, New Jersey Militia.
Kelly, Abram, Captain Boykin's South Carolina Rangers.
Kelly, Alexander, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelly, Barney, Atlee's Pennsylvania Musketry Battalion.

Kelly, Barney, Second Regiment, New York Line.
Kelly, Barney, Captain Bradt's New York Rangers.
Kelly, Barnabas, Henry County, Virginia Militia.
Kelly, Barnabas, Fourth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelly, Barnaby, Frederick County, Maryland troops.
Kelly, Bartholomew, 4th. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Kelly, Benjamin, Seventh Regiment, Connecticut Line.
Kelly, Benjamin, Virginia State Line.
Kelly, Benjamin, Virginia Continental Line.
Kelly, Benjamin, Sixth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelly, Benjamin, Bucks County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, Charles, Fourth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelly, Charles, Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion.
Kelly, Charles, Sixth Regiment, Connecticut Line.
Kelly, Charles, Tenth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Kelly, Charles, Richmond, Rhode Island Company.
Kelly, "Carpenter," Bergen County, New Jersey Militia.
Kelly, "Carpenter," Second Regiment, Orange County, N. Y. Militia.
Kelly, Christopher, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, Daniel, Second Regiment, Orange County, N. Y. Militia.
Kelly, Daniel, 3rd. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Kelly, Daniel, 3rd. Batt. 1st. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Kelly, Daniel, Sixteenth Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, David, Colonel Tyler's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, David, Colonel Groaton's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, David, Colonel Reed's New Hampshire Regiment.
Kelly, David, Colonel Poor's New Hampshire Regiment.
Kelly, David, Rhode Island Continental Line.
Kelly, David, Hazen's Continental Regiment.
Kelly, David, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, David, First Regiment New York Line.
Kelly, David, Seventeenth Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
Kelly, David, Somerset County, New Jersey Militia.
Kelly, David, Burlington County, New Jersey Militia.
Kelly, David, Pennsylvania Line (regiment unknown).
Kelly, David, Colonel Wyman's New Hampshire Regiment.
Kelly, David, Colonel Spencer's Regiment, New Jersey Line.
Kelly, Dennis, Sixth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelly, Dennis, Invalid Regiment (Pennsylvania).
Kelly, Dennis, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, Dennis, First Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, Dennis, Seventh Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, Dennis, Livingston's Battalion, New York Line.
Kelly, Dennis, Second Regiment, Orange County, N. Y. Militia.
Kelly, Dennis, Colonel Wessenfels' New York Levies.
Kelly, Dennis, Colonel Neill's Delaware Regiment.

Kelly, Dennis, Jr., Orange County, N. Y. Associators.
Kelly, Duncan, Barrington, Rhode Island Company.
Kelly, Edward, Colonel Webster's New Hampshire Regiment.
Kelly, Edward, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelly, Edward, Westmoreland County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, Edward, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, Edward, Rawlings' Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, Edward, Kent County, Maryland troops.
Kelly, Edward, Colonel Harper's Regiment, New York Levies.
Kelly, Edward, Colonel Greaton's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, Edward, Sixth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Kelly, Edmund, Second Regiment, New York Line.
Kelly, Edmund, Colonel Henley's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, Elijah, Colonel Bradford's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, Ephraim, Colonel Stark's New Hampshire Regiment.
Kelly, Francis, Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion.
Kelly, George, Third Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelly, George, Proctor's Pennsylvania Artillery.
Kelly, George, Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion.
Kelly, George, Fourth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelly, George, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, George, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, George, Seventh Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, George, Morris County, New Jersey Militia.
Kelly, George, Danvers, Massachusetts Company.
Kelly, George, Colonel Spaulding's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, George, Colonel Jackson's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, Gordon, Virginia Continental Line.
Kelly, Henry, Colonel Willett's Regiment, New York Levies.
Kelly, Henry, Colonel Harper's Regiment, New York Levies.
Kelly, Henry, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment.
Kelly, Henry, Lieut. Colonel Park's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, Hugh, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelly, Hugh, Dorchester County, Maryland Militia.
Kelly, Hugh, First Regiment, New York Line.
Kelly, Hugh, Colonel Vose's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, Hugh, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment.
Kelly, Hugh, North Carolina Line (regiment unknown).
Kelly, Hugh, Second Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, Hugh, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, Hugh, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, Isaac, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, Isaac, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.
Kelly Jacob, Fourth Maryland Battalion.
Kelly, Jacob, 1st. Batt. 1st. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Kelly, Jared, New Jersey Line (regiment unknown).

Kelly, James, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment.
Kelly, James, Preston County, West Virginia troops.
Kelly, James, Third Regiment, Ulster County, N. Y. Militia.
Kelly, James, Seventh Regiment, Connecticut Line.
Kelly, James, Dutchess County, New York Militia.
Kelly, James, Rockland County, New York Associators.
Kelly, James, Sixth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Kelly, James, Tenth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Kelly, James, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelly, James, Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelly, James, Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot.
Kelly, James, Miles' Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment.
Kelly, James, Proctor's Pennsylvania Artillery.
Kelly, James, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, James, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, James, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, James, Philadelphia County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, James, York County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, James, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, James, Pennsylvania Navy.
Kelly, James, Harford County, Maryland troops.
Kelly, James, Captain Samuel Smith's Company, Maryland Militia.
Kelly, James, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, James, Colonel DeHaas' Pennsylvania Riflemen.
Kelly, James, Rawlings' Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, James, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, James, Seventh Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, James, Prince George County, Maryland troops.
Kelly, James, Kent County, Maryland troops.
Kelly, James, First Maryland Battalion.
Kelly, James, Fourth Maryland Battalion.
Kelly, James, Ship *Viper*, Massachusetts Navy.
Kelly, James, Gridley's Massachusetts Artillery.
Kelly, James, Colonel Greateon's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, James, Colonel Spaulding's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, James, Colonel Glover's, Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, James, Methuen, Massachusetts Company.
Kelly, James, Colonel Ashley's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, James, Smith's Company, Massachusetts Coast Artillery.
Kelly, James, Colonel Stark's New Hampshire Regiment.
Kelly, James, Second South Carolina Regiment of Foot.
Kelly, Jeremiah, Essex County, New Jersey Militia.
Kelly, Jesse, Virginia Continental Line.
Kelly, John, First Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Kelly, John, Tenth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Kelly, John, Moore's Corps of Pennsylvania Infantry.

Kelly, John, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelly, John, Seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelly, John, Ninth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelly, John, Eleventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelly, John, Fifth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelly, John, Proctor's Pennsylvania Artillery.
Kelly, John, Independent Artillery Regiment (Penna.).
Kelly, John, Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion.
Kelly, John, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, John, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, John, Philadelphia County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, John, Philadelphia County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, John, York County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, John, Bucks County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, John, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, John, Pennsylvania Navy.
Kelly, John, Colonel Haslet's Delaware Regiment.
Kelly, John, Vermont troops.
Kelly, John, First Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, John, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, John, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, John, Kent County, Maryland troops.
Kelly, John, Second Regiment, New York Line.
Kelly, John, Third Regiment, New York Line.
Kelly, John, Lamb's New York Artillery.
Kelly, John, Somerset County, New Jersey Militia.
Kelly, John, Salem County, New Jersey, Militia.
Kelly, John, Morris County, New Jersey Militia.
Kelly, John, Preston County, West Virginia troops.
Kelly, John, Frederick County, W. Va. troops.
Kelly, John, Company No. 4, Morgan's Riflemen.
Kelly, John, Company No. 8, Morgan's Riflemen.
Kelly, John, Second Regiment, Connecticut Line.
Kelly, John, Fifth Regiment, Connecticut Line.
Kelly, John, Seventh Regiment, Connecticut Line.
Kelly, John, Colonel Graham's New York Regiment.
Kelly, John, Colonel Schuyler's New York Regiment.
Kelly, John, Virginia Continental Line.
Kelly, Jonathan, Colonel Wyman's New Hampshire Regiment.
Kelly, Joshua, Ipswich, Massachusetts, Company.
Kelly, Joseph, Second Regiment, Penna. Line.
Kelly, Joseph, Jr., Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, Joseph, Second Regiment, New York Line.
Kelly, Joseph, Third Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, Joseph, North Carolina Line (regiment unknown).
Kelly, Kern, Sixth Penna. Battalion.

Kelly, Killian, First Regiment, Penna. Line.
Kelly, Killen, Sixth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Kelly, Lawrence, Northumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, Levi, Killingworth, Connecticut Company.
Kelly, Luke, Capt Morton's Company, Mass. Coast Artillery.
Kelly, Mathias, Philadelphia City Militia.
Kelly, Matthew, Second Regiment, Penna. Line.
Kelly, Matthew, Seventh Regiment, Penna. Line.
Kelly, Matthew, Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot.
Kelly, Matthew, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, Matthew, Philadelphia City Militia.
Kelly, Matthew, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, Matthew, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, Matthew, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, Matthew, New Jersey Continental Line.
Kelly, Matthew, Colonel Henley's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, Matthew, Colonel Jackson's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, Matthew, Continental Frigate *Boston*.
Kelly, Matthew, Fourth Maryland Battalion.
Kelly, Maurice, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.
Kelly, Michael, Fifth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Kelly, Michael, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, Michael, York County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, Michael, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, Michael, Colonel Greene's Rhode Island Regiment.
Kelly, Moses, Third Regiment, Penna. Line.
Kelly, Moses, Bucks County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, Moses, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, Moses, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, Moses, Vermont troops.
Kelly, Morris, Second Regiment, New York Line.
Kelly, Nathaniel, Colonel Bartlett's New Hampshire Regiment.
Kelly, Nehemiah, Colonel Drake's New Hampshire Regiment.
Kelly, Oliver, Neill's New Jersey Artillery.
Kelly, Oliver, North Carolina Artillery.
Kelly, Oliver, Barrington, Rhode Island Company.
Kelly, Patrick, Gloucester County, N. J. Militia.
Kelly, Patrick, First Regiment, Provincial troops of S. C.
Kelly, Patrick, Capt. Dibbell's Company, Mass. Minute Men.
Kelly, Patrick, Colonel Greateon's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, Patrick, Colonel Van Schaick's First N. Y. Battalion.
Kelly, Patrick, Colonel Vose's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, Patrick, Eighth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Kelly, Patrick, Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelly, Patrick, Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelly, Patrick, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.

- Kelly, Patrick, Pennsylvania Artillery Artificers.
Kelly, Patrick, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, Patrick, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, Patrick, Philadelphia City Militia.
Kelly, Patrick, Philadelphia City Militia.
Kelly, Patrick, Westmoreland County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, Patrick, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, Patrick, Sixth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, Patrick, German Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, Patrick, Third Maryland Battalion.
Kelly, Patrick, First Regiment, New York Line.
Kelly, Patrick, 4th. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Kelly, Patrick, New Jersey Militia.
Kelly, Patrick, Second Regiment, N. J. Continental Line.
Kelly, Patrick, 1st. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Kelly, Peter, Second Regiment, New York Line.
Kelly, Peter, Third Regiment, Tryon County, N. Y. Militia.
Kelly, Peter, Colonel Putnam's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, Peter, North Carolina Line (regiment unknown).
Kelly, Philip, Moylan's Fourth Dragoons.
Kelly, Philip, Miles' Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment.
Kelly, Philip, First Regiment, New York Line.
Kelly, Philip, North Carolina Line (regiment unknown).
Kelly, Richard, Fourth Penna. Battalion.
Kelly, Richard, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.
Kelly, Richard, Amesbury, Massachusetts Company.
Kelly, Richard, Colonel Jackson's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, Richard, Colonel Wingate's New Hampshire Regiment.
Kelly, Richard, Jr., Colonel Wingate's New Hampshire Regiment.
Kelly, Rodger, Philadelphia City Militia.
Kelly, Robert, Hazen's Penna. Regiment.
Kelly, Robert, Eighth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Kelly, Robert, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, Robert, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, Robert, Second Regiment, New York Line.
Kelly, Robert, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.
Kelly, Robert, Third Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
Kelly, Samuel, Eighth Regiment, Connecticut Line.
Kelly, Samuel, Colonel Wingate's New Hampshire Regiment.
Kelly, Samuel, Colonel Ward's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, Samuel, Somerset County, N. J. Militia.
Kelly, Shubel, Dutchess County, N. Y. Minute Men.
Kelly, Shubael, Colonel Gray's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, Silvinus, Second Regiment, New York Line.
Kelly, Stephen, Suffolk County, N. Y. Minute Men.
Kelly, Stephen, Amesbury, Massachusetts Company.

Kelly, Stephen, Colonel Walker's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, Stephen, Kanawha County, W. Va. Militia.
Kelly, Stephen, Rhode Island Militia.
Kelly, Thomas, Thompson's Penna. Rifle Battalion.
Kelly, Thomas, First Regiment, Penna. Line.
Kelly, Thomas, Second Regiment, Penna. Line.
Kelly, Thomas, Third Regiment, Penna. Line.
Kelly, Thomas, Fourth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Kelly, Thomas, Fifth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Kelly, Thomas, Eighth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Kelly, Thomas, Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion.
Kelly, Thomas, Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion.
Kelly, Thomas, Proctor's Pennsylvania Artillery.
Kelly, Thomas, Philadelphia City Militia.
Kelly, Thomas, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, Thomas, Colonel DeHaas' Penna. Riflemen.
Kelly, Thomas, Second Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, Thomas, Sixth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, Thomas, Seventh Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, Thomas, Second Regiment, Orange County, N. Y. Militia.
Kelly, Thomas, Suffolk County, N. Y. Minute Men.
Kelly, Thomas, Rockland County, N. Y. Associators.
Kelly, Thomas, Sixth Regiment, Lincoln County, Maine.
Kelly, Thomas, Plymouth, Massachusetts Company.
Kelly, Thomas, Colonel Haslet's Delaware Regiment.
Kelly, Thomas, Delaware Militia.
Kelly, Thomas, Second Regiment, Connecticut Line.
Kelly, Thomas, Tenth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Kelly, Thadey, Virginia State Line.
Kelly, Timothy, Atlee's Penna. Musketry Battalion.
Kelly, Timothy, Hazen's Pennsylvania Regiment.
Kelly, Timothy, First Regiment, Penna. Line.
Kelly, Timothy, Fifth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Kelly, Timothy, Second Pennsylvania Battalion.
Kelly, Timothy, Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion.
Kelly, Timothy, Berks County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, Timothy, Colonel Bullard's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, Timothy, Colonel Gerrish's Massachusetts Guards.
Kelly, Timothy, Colonel Wade's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, Timothy, Virginia Continental Line.
Kelly, Timothy, Capt. Benjamin West's Rhode Island Company.
Kelly, Uriah, Gloucester County, N. J. Militia.
Kelly, Walter, Virginia Line.
Kelly, William, First Regiment, Penna. Line.
Kelly, William, First Regiment, Penna. Line.
Kelly, William, Fourth Regiment, Penna. Line.

Kelly, William, Seventh Regiment, Penna. Line.
Kelly, William, Proctor's Penna. Artillery.
Kelly, William, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, William, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, William, Philadelphia County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, William, York County, Penna. Militia.
Kelly, William, Moore's Company of Penna. Infantry.
Kelly, William, Sixth Penna. Battalion.
Kelly, William, First Maryland Battalion.
Kelly, William, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, William, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Kelly, William, Second Regiment, Dutchess County, N. Y. Militia.
Kelly, William, Fifth Regiment, Dutchess County, N. Y. Militia.
Kelly, William, Gloucester County, N. J. Militia.
Kelly, William, Colonel Haslet's Delaware Regiment.
Kelly, William, Second Regiment, New Hampshire Line.
Kelly, William, Colonel Bigelow's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, William, Third Massachusetts Artillery.
Kelly, William, Colonel Groaton's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, William, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment.
Kelly, William, Norfolk County, Virginia troops.
Kelly, William, Virginia Continental Line.
Kelly, William, Stevens' New York Artillery.
Kelly, William, Colonel Evans' New Hampshire Regiment.
Kelly, William, Colonel Peabody's New Hampshire Regiment.
Kelly, William, Colonel Mooney's New Hampshire Regiment.
Kelly, William, Tenth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Kelly, William, First Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Kelly, William, Rhode Island Naval forces.
Kelly, William, Crane's Massachusetts Artillery.
Kelly, William, Tenth Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, William, Colonel Vose's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, William, Colonel Tyler's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kelly, William, Colonel Spaulding's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kellee, Jeremiah, Sixth Regiment, Dutchess County, N. Y. Militia.
Kellee, Joseph, Prince George County, Md. troops.
Kaley, Robert, Fifth Regiment, Worcester County, Mass.
Kalley, John, Colonel Sparhawk's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kalley, Robert, Colonel Dike's Massachusetts Regiment.
Kayle, James, Capt. Stephenson's Company, W. Va. Riflemen.
Kayle, William, Capt. Stephenson's Company, W. Va. Riflemen.
Killee, James, Colonel Sherburne's Massachusetts Regiment.
Killey, Daniel, Eighth Regiment, Albany County N. Y. Militia.
Killey, David, Colonel Pawling's New York Levies.
Killey, David, Capt. Ezra Wood's Massachusetts Company.
Killey, David, Colonel Freeman's Massachusetts Regiment.

- Killey, David, Crane's Massachusetts Artillery.
 Killey, David, Colonel Wigglesworth's Massachusetts Regiment.
 Killey, David, Colonel Gerrish's Massachusetts Guards.
 Killey, David, Colonel Smith's Massachusetts Regiment.
 Killey, Dennis, Colonel Pawling's New York Levies.
 Killey, James, Baltimore County, Md. troops.
 Killey, Jeremiah, Sixth Regiment, Dutchess County, N. Y. Militia.
 Killey, John, Colonel Miller's Rhode Island Regiment.
 Killey, John, Gloucester County, N. J. Militia.
 Killey, John, N. J. Continental Line (regiment unknown).
 Killey, John, Fourth Regiment, Orange County, N. Y. Militia.
 Killey, Jonathan, Capt. John Russell's Massachusetts Company.
 Killey, Luke, Ship *Rhodes*, Massachusetts Navy.
 Killey, Matthew, Ship *Rhodes*, Massachusetts Navy.
 Killey, Michael, Newport, Rhode Island Company.
 Killey, Morris, Colonel Reed's Massachusetts Regiment.
 Killey, Patrick, First Regiment, N. J. Continental Line.
 Killey, Philip, Colonel Wigglesworth's Massachusetts Regiment.
 Killey, Stephen, Colonel Fry's Rhode Island Regiment.
 Killey, Samuel, Springfield, Massachusetts Company.
 Killey, Thomas, Colonel Alden's Massachusetts Regiment.
 Killey, William, Sloop *Machias Liberty*, Massachusetts Navy.
 Killey, William, Capt. Samuel Smith's Company, Lincoln Co., Me.
 McKelly, William, Second Regiment, Dutchess County, N. Y. Militia.
 O'Kelly, Edward, New Jersey Militia.
 O'Kelly, Ephraim, 4th. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
 O'Kelly, John, Warren, Rhode Island Militia Company.
 O'Kelly, Patrick, Eighth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
 O'Kelley, Patrick, South Carolina Militia.
- McCarthy, Bartholomew, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
 McCarthy, Bartholomew, Colonel Brooks' Regiment of Mass. Guards.
 McCarthy, Charles, Philadelphia County, Penna. Militia.
 McCarthy, Charles, Philadelphia City, Penna. Artillery.
 McCarthy, Daniel, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
 McCarthy, Daniel, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
 McCarthy, Daniel, Pennsylvania Navy.
 McCarthy, Daniel, First Regiment, New York Line.
 McCarthy, Daniel, Continental frigate *Confederacy*.
 McCarthy, Daniel, Grayson's Maryland Continental Regiment.
 McCarthy, Daniel, Colonel Groaton's Massachusetts Regiment.
 McCarthy, Daniel, Colonel McIntosh's Suffolk County, Mass. Regiment.
 McCarthy, Daniel, Dutchess County, New York troops.
 McCarthy, Daniel, Jr., Colonel Groaton's Massachusetts Regiment.
 McCarthy, Daniel, Frigate *Hague*, Massachusetts Navy.
 McCarthy, Dennis, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.

- McCarthy, Dennis, Third Regiment, New York Line.
McCarthy, Dennis, First Regiment, New York Line.
McCarthy, Dennis, Colonel Gansevoort's New York Regiment.
McCarthy, Ewen, First Pennsylvania Artillery.
McCarthy, Felix, Berks County, Penna. Militia.
McCarthy, Francis, Ship *Mars*, Massachusetts Navy.
McCarthy, Florence, Fourth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
McCarthy, Florence, North Carolina troops, (regiment unknown).
McCarthy, George, Colonel Warner's Regiment, Connecticut Line.
McCarthy, Jeremiah, Frigate *Boston*, Massachusetts Navy.
McCarthy, James, Crane's Massachusetts Artillery.
McCarthy, James, Pennsylvania Navy.
McCarthy, James, Colonel Groaton's Massachusetts Regiment.
McCarthy, James, Tenth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
McCarthy, John, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
McCarthy, John, Colonel Elliott's Rhode Island Regiment.
McCarthy, John, Colonel Ruggles' Massachusetts Regiment.
McCarthy, John, Colonel Ruggles' Massachusetts Regiment.
McCarthy, John, Thirteenth Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
McCarthy, John, Philadelphia City Volunteers.
McCarthy, John, York County, Penna. Militia.
McCarthy, John, Pennsylvania Navy.
McCarthy, John, Invalid Guards (Pennsylvania).
McCarthy, John, Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion.
McCarthy, John, Proctor's Pennsylvania Artillery.
McCarthy, John, Fourth Pennsylvania Artillery.
McCarthy, Justin, Atlee's Pennsylvania Musketry Battalion.
McCarthy, Miles, North Carolina Line (regiment unknown).
McCarthy, Mathias, First Regiment, Provincial troops of S. C.
McCarthy, Moses, Thirteenth Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
McCarthy, Michael, Fifth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
McCarthy, Owen, Proctor's Pennsylvania Artillery.
McCarthy, Owen, Independent Pennsylvania Artillery Regiment.
McCarthy, Owen, Knox's Artillery Corps.
McCarthy, Peter, Virginia Continental Line.
McCarthy, Peter, Rawlings' Regiment, Maryland Line.
McCarthy, Richard, Virginia State Line (regiment unknown).
McCarthy, Roger, Georgia Continental Line (regiment unknown).
McCarthy, Stephen, North Carolina Line (regiment unknown).
McCarthy, Thomas, Philadelphia County, Penna. Militia.
McCarthy, Timothy, Frederick County, Maryland troops.
McCarthy, Timothy, Atlee's Pennsylvania Musketry Battalion.
McCarthy, Thomas, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
McCarthy, Timothy, Suffolk County, Massachusetts Regiment.
McCarthy, Timothy, Ship *Protector*, Massachusetts Navy.
McCarthy, William, Fairfield, Connecticut Volunteers.

McCarthy, William, North Carolina Line (regiment unknown).
McCarty, Alexander, Third Regiment, South Carolina Line.
McCarty, Andrew, Hunterdon County, New Jersey Militia.
McCarty, Andrew, Frigate *Hague*, Massachusetts Navy.
McCarty, Andrew, Captain Stephenson's Company of West Va. Riflemen.
McCarty, Benjamin, Northampton County, Penna. Militia.
McCarty, Charles, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
McCarty, Charles, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
McCarty, Charles, Virginia State Line.
McCarty, Charles, Richmond County, Virginia Militia.
McCarty, Charles, Third Regiment, New Hampshire Line.
McCarty, Charles, Stark's New Hampshire Regiment.
McCarty, Charles, Stark's New Hampshire Regiment.
McCarty, Charles, Scammell's New Hampshire Regiment.
McCarty, Charles, Colonel Malcom's Regiment, New York Line.
McCarty, Cornelius, Second Regiment, South Carolina Line.
McCarty, Cornelius, Prince William Parish, S. C. Volunteer Company.
McCarty, Daniel, Second Regiment, New Hampshire Line.
McCarty, Daniel, Georgia Continental Line (regiment unknown).
McCarty, Daniel, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
McCarty, Daniel, Northampton County, Penna. Militia.
McCarty, Daniel, York County, Penna. Militia.
McCarty, Daniel, Thompson's Pennsylvania Rifle Battalion.
McCarty, Daniel, Moylan's Fourth Pennsylvania Dragoons.
McCarty, Daniel, Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
McCarty, Daniel, Seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
McCarty, Daniel, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
McCarty, Daniel, Second Regiment, Virginia State Line.
McCarty, Daniel, Second Regiment, New Hampshire Line.
McCarty, Daniel, Kingston, New Hampshire, Company.
McCarty, Daniel, Second Regiment Lincoln County, Mass.
McCarty, Daniel, First Regiment, New York Line.
McCarty, Daniel, Second Regiment, Virginia Continental Line.
McCarty, Daniel, Captain Robert Mullan's Philadelphia Marines.
McCarty, Dennis, Third Regiment, South Carolina Line.
McCarty, Dennis, Charleston, S. C. Company of Rangers.
McCarty, Dennis, Thompson's South Carolina Rangers.
McCarty, Dennis, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
McCarty, Dennis, Fourth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
McCarty, Dennis, Moylan's Fourth Penna. Dragoons.
McCarty, Dennis, Third Regiment, Penna. Line.
McCarty, Dennis, Philadelphia City Militia.
McCarty, Dennis, First Regiment, New York Line.
McCarty, Dennis, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.
McCarty, Dennis, 4th. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
McCarty, Dennis, Sussex County, N. J. Militia.

- McCarty, Dennis, Third Regiment, South Carolina Line.
 McCarty, Dennis, Heatly's South Carolina Rangers.
 McCarty, Dennis, Colonel Whitney's Massachusetts Regiment.
 McCarty, Dugal, Philadelphia City Militia.
 McCarty, Dunkon, First Regiment, Tryon County, N. Y. Militia.
 McCarty, Eben, Savannah, Ga. Volunteers.
 McCarty, Edward, Kanawha County, W. Va. Militia.
 McCarty, Elias, Philadelphia City Militia.
 McCarty, Felix, Tenth Regiment, Penna. Line.
 McCarty, Florence, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
 McCarty, Florence, Ship *Defence*, Maryland Navy.
 McCarty, Francis, Sloop *Defence*, Massachusetts Navy.
 McCarty, George, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
 McCarty, George, Bigelow's Connecticut Artillery.
 McCarty, George, Third Battalion, North Carolina Line.
 McCarty, George, Colonel Warren's Connecticut Regiment.
 McCarty, Henry, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
 McCarty, Hugh, Colonel Malcolm's New York Regiment.
 McCarty, Hugh, 3rd. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
 McCarty, Hugh, First Battalion, Hunterdon County, N. J. Militia.
 McCarty, Hugh, Second Battalion, Hunterdon County, N. J. Militia.
 McCarty, Hugh, Colonel Graham's New York Regiment.
 McCarty, Isaac, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
 McCarty, Isaac, Northampton County, Penna. Militia.
 McCarty, Isaac, Second Regiment, New York Line.
 McCarty, Jere, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
 McCarty, Jeremiah, First Regiment, Provincial troops of S. C.
 McCarty, Jeremiah, Fifth Regiment, Penna. Line.
 McCarty, Jeremiah, Eighth Regiment, Penna. Line.
 McCarty, James, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
 McCarty, James, Northampton County, Penna. Militia.
 McCarty, James, Second Regiment, New York Line.
 McCarty, James, First Regiment, Maryland Line.
 McCarty, James, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
 McCarty, James, Harford County, Md. troops.
 McCarty, James, Fourth Regiment, Connecticut Line.
 McCarty, Jesse, First Regiment, Maryland Line.
 McCarty, Jessy, Seventh Regiment, Maryland Line.
 McCarty, Jonathan, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
 McCarty, John, Georgia Continental Line (regiment unknown).
 McCarty, John, Georgia Continental Line (regiment unknown).
 McCarty, John, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
 McCarty, John, Northampton County, Penna. Militia.
 McCarty, John, Northampton County, Penna. Militia.
 McCarty, John, Philadelphia County, Penna. Militia.
 McCarty, John, First Regiment, Penna. Line.

McCarty, John, Second Regiment, New York Line.
McCarty, John, Fifth Regiment, New York Line.
McCarty, John, Second Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
McCarty, John, Ninth Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
McCarty, John, Frederick County, Va. troops.
McCarty, John, Colonel Peabody's New Hampshire Regiment.
McCarty, John, Colonel Mooney's New Hampshire Regiment.
McCarty, John, Colonel Reed's New Hampshire Regiment.
McCarty, John, Kingston, New Hampshire Company.
McCarty, John, Capt. Kimball's Lunenburg, Mass. Company.
McCarty, John, Orange County, N. Y. Associators.
McCarty, John, Colonel Groaton's Massachusetts Regiment.
McCarty, John, Colonel Shepard's Massachusetts Regiment.
McCarty, John, Beverly, Massachusetts Company.
McCarty, John, Ship *Mars*, Massachusetts Navy.
McCarty, John, First Regiment, Tryon County, N. Y. Militia.
McCarty, John, Bradford's Philadelphia Foot Regiment.
McCarty, John, Philadelphia City Militia.
McCarty Joseph, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
McCarty, Justin, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
McCarty, Justin, Ship *General Mifflin*, Massachusetts Navy.
McCarty, Michael, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
McCarty, Michael, Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion.
McCarty, Michael, Ninth Regiment, Penna. Line.
McCarty, Moses, Thirteenth Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
McCarty, Neil, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
McCarty, Nicklos, Bucks County, Penna. Militia.
McCarty, Owen, Lamb's Artillery.
McCarty, Owen, Scott's Detachment, Lincoln County, Mass.
McCarty, Patrick, Bucks County, Penna. Militia.
McCarty, Peter, Berks County, Penna. Militia.
McCarty, Peter, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
McCarty, Peter, Virginia State Line.
McCarty, Phelix, First Regiment, New York Line.
McCarty, Phelix, Tenth Regiment, Penna. Line.
McCarty, Philip, Northampton County, Penna. Militia.
McCarty, Richard, Second Regiment, Penna. Line.
McCarty, Thomas, Bucks County, Penna. Militia.
McCarty, Thomas, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
McCarty, Thomas, Northampton County, Penna. Militia.
McCarty, Thomas, Fifth Regiment, New York Line.
McCarty, Thomas, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
McCarty, Thomas, Colonel Malcom's New York Levies.
McCarty, Thomas, Second Regiment, Connecticut Line.
McCarty Thomas, Philadelphia City Militia.
McCarty, Thomas, Elizabeth, N. J. Militia Company.

- McCarty, Timothy, Seventh Regiment, Penna. Line.
 McCarty, Timothy, Second Regiment, Maryland Line.
 McCarty, Timothy, Colonel Price's Regiment, Maryland Line.
 McCarty, Timothy, Ship *Hazard*, Massachusetts Navy.
 McCarty, Timothy, Virginia State Line.
 McCarty, William, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
 McCarty, William, Northampton County, Penna. Militia.
 McCarty, William, Penna. State Regiment of Foot.
 McCarty, William, Ninth Regiment, Penna. Line.
 McCarty, William, Moylan's Fourth Penna. Dragoons.
 McCarty, William, Second Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
 McCarty, William, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
 McCarty, William, Salem County, N. J. Militia.
 McCarty, William, Col. Wigglesworth's Massachusetts Regiment.
 McCarty, William, Sullivan's Brigade, Rhode Island troops.
 McCart, James, Third Regiment, New York Line.
 McCart, John, Third Regiment, New York Line.
 McCart, John, Morgan's Virginia Riflemen.
 McCarte, Daniel, Second Regiment, New Hampshire Line.
 McCarte, Jere, New Milford, Connecticut Company.
 McCarte, John, Eleventh Regiment, Virginia Line.
 McCarte, John, Fifteenth Regiment, Virginia Line.
 McCarte, John, Colonel Groaton's Massachusetts Regiment.
 McCarte, Paul, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
 McCartee, Jeremiah, Fourth Regiment, Connecticut Line.
 McCartee, Thomas, Hartford, Connecticut Volunteers.
 McCartee, Dennis, Colonel Eddy's Massachusetts Regiment.
 McCartee, Felix, Second Regiment, New York Line.
 McCartee, James, Virginia State Line.
 McCartey, Daniel, Second Massachusetts Regiment.
 McCartey, Dunkon, Suffolk County, N. Y. Minute Men.
 McCartey, Cornelius, South Carolina Militia.
 McCartey, George, Second Regiment, Connecticut Line.
 McCartey, Hugh, Vermont troops.
 McCartey, James, Second Regiment, Plymouth County, Mass.
 McCartey, James, Second Regiment, Connecticut Line.
 McCartey, John, Third Regiment, Connecticut Line.
 McCartey, John, Fourth Regiment, Connecticut Line.
 McCartey, John, Suffolk County, N. Y. Minute Men.
 McCartey, John, Philadelphia City Militia.
 McCartey, John, Philadelphia County, Penna. Militia.
 McCartey, John, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
 McCartey, John, First Regiment, Penna. Line.
 McCartey, John, Second Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
 McCartey, Owen, Philadelphia City Militia.
 McCarty, Philip, Northumberland County, Penna. Militia.

McCartie, Jeremiah, Seventh Regiment, Penna. Line.
McCartie, Sharrod, Georgia Continental Brigade.
McCartie, "Titan," Berks County, Penna. Militia.
McArthey, William, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
McCardy, Edward, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
McCharty, James, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
McClarty, John, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
McCartey, Jeremiah, Rawlings' Regiment, Maryland Line.
Macartie, Daniel, Colonel Hale's New Hampshire Regiment.
Maccarty, William Colonel Bigelow's Massachusetts Regiment.
Mecarty, William, Atlee's Penna. Musketry Battalion.
McKarty, James, Ship *General Mifflin*, Massachusetts Navy.
McKart, John, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
McKerty, Hugh, York County, Penna. Militia.
McKarty, Tim., Second Regiment, Maryland Line.
McCartney, Andrew, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
McCartney, Andrew, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
McCartney, David, Northumberland County, Penna. Militia.
McCartney, Edward, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
McCartney, Henry, Stephenson's Company, W. Va. Riflemen.
McCartney, James, Northampton County, Penna. Militia.
McCartney, James, Philadelphia County, Penna. Militia.
McCartney, John, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
McCartney, John, Northampton County, Penna. Militia.
McCartney, John, Philadelphia County, Penna. Militia.
McCartney, Joseph, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
McCartney, Peter, West Virginia troops.
McCartney, Timothy, New Castle County, Delaware Militia.
Carty, Charles, Colonel Neill's Delaware Regiment.
Carty, Darby, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment.
Carty, Daniel, Maryland Flying Camp.
Carty, Daniel, Second Regiment, N. J. Continental Line.
Carty, Daniel, 2nd. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Carty, Dennis, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Carty, Francis, First Regiment, N. J. Continental Line.
Carty, James, Maryland Flying Camp.
Carty, John, 2nd. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Carty, John, Second Regiment, N. J. Continental Line.
Carty, Lawrence, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
Carty, Matthew, Third Maryland Battalion.
Carty, Timothy, Maryland Flying Camp.
Carty, William, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment, Lieut. Col. Pope's Co.
Carty, William, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment, Capt. Jaquett's Co.
Carty, William, New Jersey Militia.
Cartey, Benjamin, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Cartey, Daniel, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).

Cartey, Dennis, Capt. Thomas Beall's Maryland Corps.
 Cartey, Henry, Second Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
 Cartey, James, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Cartey, John, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Cartey, John, Pennsylvania Navy.
 Cartey, John, Colonel Willett's New York Levies.
 Cartey, Martin, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Cartey, Matthew, First Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Cartey, Silas, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
 Cartey, Solomon, Colonel Harper's New York Levies.
 Cartey, Thomas, Northampton County, Penna. Militia.
 Cartey, Timothy, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
 Cartey, William, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
 Cartey, William, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
 Carte, Dennis, Fourth Maryland Battalion.
 Carte, James, Seventh Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Carte, Thomas, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Carte, William, Colonel Pawlings' New York Levies.
 Carthy, Daniel, Sixth Regiment, Connecticut Line.
 Carthey, Isaac, Second Regiment, New York Line.
 Carthey, William, Frederick County, Md. troops.
 Cartee, William, Vermont troops.

Murphy, Alexander, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphy, Anthony, Capt. Richard Smith's Company, Maryland Flying Camp
 Murphy, Anthony, Second Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Murphy, Anthony, Suffolk County, Virginia Militia.
 Murphy, Andrew, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphy, Andrew, Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
 Murphy, Andrew, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphy, Andrew, Philadelphia County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphy, Archibald, Miles' Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment.
 Murphy, Archibald, Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
 Murphy, Archibald, Tenth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
 Murphy, Archibald, Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot.
 Murphy, Archibald, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
 Murphy, Archibald, Henry County, Virginia Militia.
 Murphy, Archibald, Caswell County, North Carolina troops.
 Murphy, Arthur, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphy, Arthur, Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot.
 Murphy, Arthur, First Pennsylvania Battalion.
 Murphy, Arthur, Fifth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
 Murphy, Barney, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphy, Barney, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
 Murphy, Barney, Fifth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
 Murphy, Barney, Ninth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.

Murphy, Bryan, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment.
Murphy, Charles, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
Murphy, Charles, Orange County, Virginia, troops.
Murphy, Charles, First Regiment, Maryland Line.
Murphy, Charles, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
Murphy, Charles, Tenth Regiment, Virginia Line.
Murphy, Cornelius, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Cornelius, Third Maryland Battalion.
Murphy, Cornelius, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Cornelius, Pennsylvania Navy.
Murphy, Cornelius, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Murphy, Cornelius, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Christian, Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Murphy, Christian, Third Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Murphy, Christopher, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Daniel, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
Murphy, Daniel, Fourth Maryland Battalion.
Murphy, Daniel, Delaware Militia.
Murphy, Daniel, Proctor's Pennsylvania Artillery.
Murphy, Daniel, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Murphy, Daniel, 3rd. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Murphy, Daniel, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Daniel, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Daniel, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Daniel, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Daniel, New Jersey Militia.
Murphy, Daniel, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Daniel, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Daniel, Third Pennsylvania Battalion.
Murphy, Daniel, Seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Murphy, Daniel, Pennsylvania Navy.
Murphy, Daniel, Colonel Bradford's Philadelphia Foot Regiment.
Murphy, Daniel, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.
Murphy, Daniel, Colonel Putnam's Massachusetts Regiment.
Murphy, Daniel, Hampshire County, Massachusetts troops.
Murphy, Daniel, Tenth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Murphy, David, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Murphy, David, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, David, Northampton County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Dennis, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Dennis, York County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Dennis, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Murphy, Dennis, Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion.
Murphy, Dennis, Seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Murphy, Dennis, New Eleventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Murphy, Dennis, Patton's Additional Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.

- Murphy, Dennis, Captain Cooper's Company of Philadelphia Volunteers.
 Murphy, Dennis, Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion.
 Murphy, Dennis, Colonel Malcom's Regiment, New York Line.
 Murphy, Edward, Seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
 Murphy, Edward, Atlee's Pennsylvania Musketry Battalion.
 Murphy, Edward, Fifth Pennsylvania Battalion.
 Murphy, Edward, Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion.
 Murphy, Edward, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphy, Edward, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Murphy, Edward, Fifth Regiment, New York Line.
 Murphy, Edward, First Regiment, New York Line.
 Murphy, Edward, Georgia Continental Brigade (regiment unknown).
 Murphy, Edward, Georgia Continental Brigade (regiment unknown).
 Murphy, Edward, Barnstable, Massachusetts Company.
 Murphy, Edward, Third Regiment, Connecticut Line.
 Murphy, Edward, Seventh Regiment, Connecticut Line.
 Murphy, Edward, Second Regiment, South Carolina Foot.
 Murphy, Elijah, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment.
 Murphy, Francis, Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
 Murphy, George, York County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphy, George, Seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
 Murphy, George, Fifth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
 Murphy, George, Tenth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
 Murphy, George, Pennsylvania Artillery Artificers.
 Murphy, Henry, Suffolk County, N. Y. Regiment of Minute Men.
 Murphy, Henry, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphy, Henry, New York troops (regiment unknown).
 Murphy, Hugh, Sixth Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Murphy, Hugh, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphy, Hugh, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphy, Isaac, Captain Pollock's troop of Delaware Horse.
 Murphy, Israel, Third Massachusetts Regiment.
 Murphy, James, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
 Murphy, James, Thompson's South Carolina Rangers.
 Murphy, James, First Pennsylvania Battalion.
 Murphy, James, Moore's Corps of Pennsylvania Infantry.
 Murphy, James, German Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
 Murphy, James, Proctor's Pennsylvania Artillery.
 Murphy, James, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
 Murphy, James, Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion.
 Murphy, James, 4th. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
 Murphy, James, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
 Murphy, James, Lancaster County Penna. Militia.
 Murphy, James, Captain Rawlings' Company of Maryland Militia.
 Murphy, James, Second Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Murphy, James, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.

Murphy, James, Seventh Regiment, Maryland Line.
Murphy, James, German Regiment, Maryland Line.
Murphy, James, Dorset County, Maryland troops.
Murphy, James, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Murphy, James, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.
Murphy, James, Stevens' New York Artillery.
Murphy, James, Philadelphia County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, James, Fourth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Murphy, James, Third Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Murphy, James, Shrawder's Pennsylvania Rangers.
Murphy, James, Sturbridge, Massachusetts Company.
Murphy, James, Fourth Massachusetts Regiment.
Murphy, James, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment.
Murphy, James, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment.
Murphy, James, Colonel Patterson's Battalion, Delaware Flying Camp.
Murphy, James, Colonel Livingston's Battalion, New York Line.
Murphy, James, Colonel Malcom's Regiment, New York Line.
Murphy, James, Second Regiment, Connecticut Line.
Murphy, James, Sheldon's Connecticut Light Dragoons.
Murphy, James, Wolcott's Connecticut Brigade.
Murphy, James, Tenth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Murphy, James, Crane's Massachusetts Artillery.
Murphy, Jacob, Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Murphy, Jones, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Jones, Colonel Bedell's New Hampshire Regiment.
Murphy, John, Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot.
Murphy, John, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Murphy, John, Pennsylvania Navy.
Murphy, John, Pennsylvania Navy.
Murphy, John, Second Regiment, Maryland Line.
Murphy, John, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Murphy, John, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Murphy, John, Dorset County, Maryland troops.
Murphy, John, 6th Independent Co., Dorchester Co., Md. Militia.
Murphy, John, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
Murphy, John, 3rd. Batt. 1st. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Murphy, John, 3rd. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Murphy, John, Lamb's New York Artillery.
Murphy, John, Third Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
Murphy, John, Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Murphy, John, Miles' Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment.
Murphy, John, Miles' Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment.
Murphy, John, Thompson's Battalion of Pennsylvania Riflemen.
Murphy, John, Fifth Pennsylvania Battalion.
Murphy, John, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, John, Chester County, Penna. Militia.

- Murphy, John, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphy, John, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphy, John, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphy, John, Northampton County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphy, John, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
 Murphy, John, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphy, John, York County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphy, John, Jr., York County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphy, John, Northumberland County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphy, John, Capt. Samuel Sloane's Co. of Mass. Minute Men.
 Murphy, John, Hingham, Massachusetts Company.
 Murphy, John, Ship *Hazard*, Massachusetts Navy.
 Murphy, John, Ship *Thorn*, Massachusetts Navy.
 Murphy, John, First Regiment, New Jersey Continental Line.
 Murphy, John, Third Regiment, New Jersey Continental Line.
 Murphy, John, Brigantine *Speedwell*, Massachusetts Navy.
 Murphy, John, Continental frigate *Deane*.
 Murphy, John, Continental frigate *Hague*.
 Murphy, John, Henry County, Virginia, Militia.
 Murphy, John, Second New York Artillery.
 Murphy, John, Colonel Stark's New Hampshire Regiment.
 Murphy, John, Colonel Wingate's New Hampshire Regiment.
 Murphy, John, Colonel Scammel's New Hampshire Regiment.
 Murphy, John, Rhode Island Naval forces.
 Murphy, John, Virginia Continental Line.
 Murphy, Joseph, Eleventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
 Murphy, Joseph, Colonel Neill's Delaware Regiment.
 Murphy, Joseph, Eighth Regiment Connecticut Line.
 Murphy, Labach, Second Regiment, New Hampshire Line.
 Murphy, Leander, Morgan's Rifle Corps.
 Murphy, Lambert, Brigantine *Tyrannicide*, Massachusetts Navy.
 Murphy, Lawrence, Fifth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
 Murphy, Lawrence, Invalid Regiment (Penna.).
 Murphy, Lawrence, Morgan's Virginia Riflemen.
 Murphy, Levi, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphy, Levy, Ninth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
 Murphy, Martin, Virginia Continental Line.
 Murphy, Martin, Capt. William McMullin's Co. of Phila. City Guards.
 Murphy, Martin, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
 Murphy, Martin, Rhode Island Militia.
 Murphy, Martin, Pennsylvania Navy.
 Murphy, Malachi, South Carolina Artillery Artificers.
 Murphy, Matthew, Charleston, S. C. Regiment of Foot.
 Murphy, Maurice, Colonel Hicks' South Carolina Regiment.
 Murphy, Maurice, St. David's Parish, South Carolina Volunteers.
 Murphy, Michael, Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion.

Murphy, Michael, Second Regiment, Maryland Line.
Murphy, Michael, Rawlings' Regiment, Maryland Line.
Murphy, Michael, Seventh Regiment, Maryland Line.
Murphy, Michael, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Michael, First Regiment, Virginia Line.
Murphy, Michael, Capt. Moses Maxwell's Company, Mass. Coast Artillery.
Murphy, Michael, Continental frigate *Deane*.
Murphy, Michael, Continental frigate *Boston*.
Murphy, Michael, Morgan's Virginia Riflemen.
Murphy, Miles, Seventh Regiment, Maryland Line.
Murphy, Miles, Georgia Continental Line (regiment unknown).
Murphy, "Mill," Georgia Continental Brigade (regiment unknown).
Murphy, Morgan, Ship *Defence*, Maryland Navy.
Murphy, Mylon, Tenth Massachusetts Regiment.
Murphy, Owen, Virginia Continental Line.
Murphy, Owen, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Owen, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Patrick, North Carolina Line (regiment unknown).
Murphy, Patrick, Fifth Pennsylvania Battalion.
Murphy, Patrick, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Murphy, Patrick, Fourth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Murphy, Patrick, Fourth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Murphy, Patrick, Fifth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Murphy, Patrick, Seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Murphy, Patrick, Seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Murphy, Patrick, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Patrick, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Patrick, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Patrick, Westmoreland County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Patrick, North Carolina Line (regiment unknown).
Murphy, Patrick, Colonel Hale's Battalion of New Hampshire troops.
Murphy, Patrick, Second Regiment, New Hampshire Continental Line.
Murphy, Patrick, Stockley's Pennsylvania Rangers.
Murphy, Patrick, Colonel Stark's New Hampshire Regiment.
Murphy, Patrick, Frigate *Boston*, Massachusetts Navy.
Murphy, Patrick, Colonel Prime's Massachusetts Regiment.
Murphy, Patrick, Boston, Massachusetts, Company.
Murphy, Patrick, Ship *Mars*, Massachusetts Navy.
Murphy, Patrick, Massachusetts troops (regiment unknown).
Murphy, Patrick, Colonel Benedict Arnold's Canadian Detachment.
Murphy, Patrick, Capt. Hugh Stephenson's Company, West Va. Riflemen.
Murphy, Patrick, Virginia Continental Line.
Murphy, Patrick, Third Regiment, Connecticut Line.
Murphy, Patrick M., Colonel Henley's Massachusetts Regiment.
Murphy, Peter, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Peter, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.

- Murphy, Peter, Fourth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Murphy, Peter, Fifth Regiment, Suffolk County, Massachusetts.
Murphy, Peter, Colonel Patterson's Massachusetts Regiment.
Murphy, Peter, First Massachusetts Regiment.
Murphy, Peter, Colonel Livingston's Battalion, New York Line.
Murphy, Philip, Pennsylvania Line (regiment unknown).
Murphy, Philip, York County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Philip, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Murphy, Philip, Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Murphy, Pierce, Thirtieth Massachusetts Regiment.
Murphy, Pierce, Continental frigate *Raleigh*.
Murphy, Richard, Queen Anne's County, Maryland troops.
Murphy, Richard, Eighth Massachusetts Regiment.
Murphy, Richard, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment.
Murphy, Richard, Continental frigate *Hague*.
Murphy, Robert, Colonel Pawling's Regiment of New York Levies.
Murphy, Robert, Second Regiment, Lincoln County, Maine.
Murphy, Robert, Colonel Wigglesworth's Massachusetts Regiment.
Murphy, Robert, New Jersey Continental Line (regiment unknown).
Murphy, Robert, Second Regiment, Westchester County, N. Y. Militia.
Murphy, Robert, Fourth Regiment, Westchester County, N. Y. Militia.
Murphy, Robert, Thirteenth Massachusetts Regiment.
Murphy, Samuel, Ship *Defence*, Maryland Navy.
Murphy, Samuel, Eighth Battalion, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
Murphy, Seumas, York County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Solomon, Tenth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Murphy, Stephen, Pennsylvania Navy.
Murphy, Sylvester, Colonel Cobb's Massachusetts Navy.
Murphy, Thomas, Fifth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Murphy, Thomas, Colonel Poor's New Hampshire Regiment.
Murphy, Thomas, Second- Pennsylvania Battalion.
Murphy, Thomas, Proctor's Pennsylvania Artillery.
Murphy, Thomas, Bucks County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Thomas, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Thomas, York County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Thomas, Third Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Murphy, Thomas, Capt. Robert Mullan's Company, Philadelphia Marines.
Murphy, Thomas, Colonel Delaney's Philadelphia Battalion of Foot.
Murphy, Thomas, Huntingdon County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Thomas, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Murphy, Thomas, Sixth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Murphy, Thomas, Baltimore County, Maryland troops.
Murphy, Thomas, Captain William Reiley's Maryland troops.
Murphy, Thomas, Third Maryland Battalion.
Murphy, Thomas, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
Murphy, Thomas, Colonel Wessenfels' Regiment, New York Levies.

Murphy, Thomas, Colonel Malcom's Regiment, New York Levies.
Murphy, Thomas, Colonel Pawling's Regiment, New York Levies.
Murphy, Thomas, Suffolk County, N. Y. Regiment of Minute Men.
Murphy, Thomas, New York Line (regiment unknown).
Murphy, Thomas, Ship *Pilgrim*, Massachusetts Navy.
Murphy, Thomas, Colonel North's Massachusetts Regiment.
Murphy, Thomas, Crane's Massachusetts Artillery.
Murphy, Thomas, Continental frigate *Deane*.
Murphy, Thomas, Continental frigate *Hague*.
Murphy, Thomas, Continental frigate *Raleigh*.
Murphy, Thomas, First Regiment, Connecticut Line.
Murphy, Thomas, Second Regiment, Connecticut Line.
Murphy, Thomas, East Haddam, Connecticut Volunteers.
Murphy, Timothy, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Murphy, Timothy, Third Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Murphy, Timothy, Seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Murphy, Timothy, Thompson's Battalion of Pennsylvania Riflemen.
Murphy, Timothy, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, Timothy, Hampshire, Massachusetts Militia.
Murphy, Timothy, Crane's Massachusetts Artillery.
Murphy, Timothy, Colonel Daniel Morgan's Rifle Corps.
Murphy, Timothy, Colonel Harper's Regiment of New York Levies.
Murphy, Timothy, Fifteenth Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
Murphy, William, Proctor's Pennsylvania Artillery.
Murphy, William, Proctor's Pennsylvania Artillery.
Murphy, William, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, William, York County, Penna. Militia.
Murphy, William, Sixth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Murphy, William, Dorchester County, Maryland troops.
Murphy, William, Harford County, Maryland troops.
Murphy, William, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
Murphy, William, 4th. Batt. 1st. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Murphy, William, 4th. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Murphy, William, New Jersey Militia.
Murphy, William, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Murphy, William, Fifth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Murphy, William, Georgia Continental Line (regiment unknown).
Murphy, William, Colonel Alden's Massachusetts Regiment.
Murphy, William, Crane's Massachusetts Artillery.
Murphy, William, Fitchburg, Massachusetts Company.
Murphy, William, Colonel Fellows' Massachusetts Militia.
Murphy, William, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment.
Murphy, William, Berkeley County, Virginia troops.
Murphy, William, Fifth Regiment, Connecticut Line.
Murphy, William, Colonel Poor's New Hampshire Regiment.
Murphy, William, Tenth Regiment, North Carolina Line.

Murphy, William, Taunton, Massachusetts, Company.
 Murphy, William, Jr., Colonel Haslet's Delaware Regiment.
 Murphey, Andrew, Delaware troops (regiment unknown).
 Murphey, Barnabas, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
 Murphey, Cornelius, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphey, Cornelius, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphey, Daniel, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
 Murphey, Daniel, First Regiment, New York Line.
 Murphey, Daniel, Ninth Massachusetts Regiment.
 Murphey, Daniel, New Castle County, Delaware Militia.
 Murphey, Darby, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
 Murphey, David, Shrawder's Pennsylvania Rangers.
 Murphey, Edward, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
 Murphey, Edward, Colonel Bradford's Massachusetts Regiment.
 Murphey, Edward, Capt. Jesse Rowe's Company, Knox's Artillery Corps.
 Murphey, Hezekiah, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
 Murphey, James, Fourth Massachusetts Regiment.
 Murphey, James, Third Massachusetts Artillery.
 Murphey, James, Colonel Haslet's Delaware Regiment.
 Murphey, James, Colonel Neill's Delaware Regiment.
 Murphey, James, Second Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Murphey, James, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphey, James, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphey, Joab, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
 Murphey, John, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphey, John, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphey, John, Westmoreland County, Penna. Militia.
 Murphey, John, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Murphey, John, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Murphey, John, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
 Murphey, John, Virginia Continental Line.
 Murphey, John, Colonel Simonds' Berkshire County, Mass. Regiment.
 Murphey, John, Colonel Greaton's Massachusetts Regiment.
 Murphey, John, Continental frigate *Deane*.
 Murphey, Joseph, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Murphey, Joseph, Colonel Neill's Delaware Regiment.
 Murphey, Lemuel, Virginia Continental Line.
 Murphey, Martin, Virginia Continental Line.
 Murphey, Martin, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
 Murphey, Matthew, St. David's Parish, South Carolina, Volunteers.
 Murphey, Michael, Virginia Continental Line.
 Murphey, Miland, Danvers, Massachusetts Company.
 Murphey, Owen, Virginia Continental Line.
 Murphey, Patrick, Kent County, Maryland troops.
 Murphey, Patrick, Colonel Wingate's New Hampshire Regiment.
 Murphey, Peter, Washington County, Penna. Militia.

Murphey, Peter, Third Regiment, New York Line.
Murphey, Philip, Thompson's South Carolina Rangers.
Murphey, Richard, Third Massachusetts Artillery.
Murphey, Thomas, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Murphey, Thomas, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Murphey, Thomas, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Murphey, Thomas, Third Massachusetts Artillery.
Murphey, Timothy, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Murphey, Timothy, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
Murphey, William, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Murphey, William Colonel Thayer's Massachusetts Regiment.
Murphey, William, Colonel Brooks' Massachusetts Regiment.
Murphey, William T., Colonel Haslet's Delaware Regiment.
Murpphey, John, Colonel Scammell's New Hampshire Regiment.
Murphe, John, Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot.
Murphe, John Middlesex County, Massachusetts troops.
Murphe, Patrick, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
Murphee, Richard, Eighth Massachusetts Regiment.
Murphey, James, Moore's Corps of Pennsylvania Infantry.
Murfee, Edward, Colonel Lippitt's Rhode Island Regiment.
Murfee, James, Colonel Davis' Worcester County, Mass. Regiment.
Murfee, John, Montgomery, County, Penna. Militia.
Murfee, John, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.
Murfee, John, Colonel Simond's Berkshire County, Mass. Regiment.
Murfee, Michael, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Murfee, Richard, Seventh Regiment, Worcester County, Mass.
Murfee, Thomas, Capt. Florence Crowley's Company of Mass. Artillery.
Murfee, Thomas, First Regiment, Suffolk County, Massachusetts.
Murfee, William, Detachment of Massachusetts Guards.
Murfey, Daniel, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
Murfey, Andrew, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Murfey, Cornelius, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Murfey, Daniel, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Murfey, Edmund, Second Regiment, Connecticut Line.
Murfey, Edward, Fifth Regiment, New York Line.
Murfey, Edward, Colonel Bradford's Massachusetts Regiment.
Murfey, Edward, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Murfey, Edward, Colonel Angell's Rhode Island Regiment.
Murfey, George, Colonel Poor's New Hampshire Regiment.
Murfey, George, Colonel Prime's Massachusetts Regiment.
Murfey, Israel, Colonel Phinney's Massachusetts Regiment.
Murfey, John, Cambridge, Massachusetts Company.
Murfey, John, York County, Penna. Militia.
Murfey, John, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
Murfey, Robert, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Murfey, Thomas, Colonel Graham's Regiment, New York Levies.

Murffy, Thomas, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
Murfy, C., Berkshire County, Massachusetts troops.
Murfy, Daniel, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Murfy, James, York County, Penna. Militia.
Murfy, John, York County, Penna. Militia.
Murfy, Patrick, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
Murfy, Peter, Ship *Pilgrim*, Massachusetts Navy.
Murfy, Peter, Third Massachusetts Artillery.
Murfy, Pierce, Capt. Tobias Lord's Massachusetts Coast Artillery.
Murfy, Willam, Nineteenth Massachusetts Regiment.
Murphie, Henderson, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
Murphue, Arthur, First Regiment, Provincial troops of South Carolina.
Murpey, Henry, Suffolk County, N. Y. Regiment of Minute Men.
Murpey, Thomas, Fourteenth Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
Morphey, John, Fourth Regiment, Orange County, N. Y. Militia.
Morphey, William, Second Regiment, New York Line.
Murfit, Henry, Bucks County, Penna. Militia.
Murfit, John, Atlee's Pennsylvania Musketry Battalion.
Murfit, William, Bucks County, Penna. Militia.
Murfit, William, Atlee's Pennsylvania Musketry Battalion.
Murfit, William, Jr., Bucks County, Penna. Militia.
Murfrey, John, Virginia Continental Line.
Murfrey, John, Eleventh Regiment, Virginia State Line.
Murfrey, Samuel, Eleventh Regiment, Virginia State Line.
Murfree, Patrick, North Carolina Line (regiment unknown).
Murfree, Lemuel, Eleventh Regiment, Virginia State Line.
McMurfey, James, Colonel Cogswell's Massachusetts Regiment.
McMurfey, Patrick, Colonel Evans' New Hampshire Regiment.
McMurfey, Peter, Colonel McCobb's Massachusetts Regiment.
McMurphy, George, First Regiment, New Hampshire Line.
McMurphy, William Colonel Cogswell's Massachusetts Regiment.
McMurphy, Alexander, Delaware troops (regiment unknown).
McMurphy, Daniel, Lieut. Col. Webster's New Hampshire Militia.
McMurphy, Daniel, Georgia Continental Line (regiment unknown).
McMurphy, George, Colonel Stark's New Hampshire Regiment.
McMurphy, George, Colonel Cilley's New Hampshire Regiment.
McMurphy, James, Colonel Gerrish's Regiment of Massachusetts Guards.
McMurphy, John, Philadelphia City, Penn. Militia.
McMurphy, John, Colonel Cilley's New Hampshire Regiment.
McMurphy, John, Colonel Stark's New Hampshire Regiment.
McMurphy, John, Colonel Thornton's New Hampshire Regiment.
McMurphy, John, North Carolina Line, (regiment unknown).
McMurphy, Peter, Captain Caleb Turner's Massachusetts Company.
McMurphy, Peter, Colonel Prime's Massachusetts Regiment.
McMurphy, Robert, Delaware troops, (regiment unknown).
McMurphy, Robert, Colonel Stark's New Hampshire Regiment.

McMurphy, William, Colonel Gerrish's Regiment of Massachusetts Guards.
McMurphy, William, Colonel Stark's New Hampshire Regiment.
McMurphy, William, Colonel Bedell's New Hampshire Regiment.

O'Brian, Charles, Tenth Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Brian, Cornelius, Fourth Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Brian, Cornelius, Seventh Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
O'Brian, Daniel, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Brian, Daniel, Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Brian, Daniel, St. Clair's Pennsylvania Battalion.
O'Brian, Dennis, Commander-in-Chief's Guard.
O'Brian, Dennis, Colonel Hazen's Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Brian, Dennis, Thirty-sixth Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Brian, Dennis, Schooner *Diligent*, Massachusetts Navy.
O'Brian, Dennis, York County, Penna. Militia.
O'Brian, Gideon, Sixth Regiment, Lincoln County, Maine.
O'Brian, James, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
O'Brian, James, Captain Jabez West's Company, Lincoln County, Me. troops.
O'Brian, James, Baltimore County, Maryland troops.
O'Brian, James, Virginia Continental Line.
O'Brian, Jeremy, Tenth Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Brian, John, Philadelphia City Militia, Fourth Battalion.
O'Brian, John, Philadelphia City Militia, Fifth Battalion.
O'Brian, John, Invalid Regiment, Pennsylvania.
O'Brian, John, First Pennsylvania Battalion.
O'Brian, John, Colonel Sherburne's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Brian, John, Colonel Lee's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Brian, John, Sloop *Machias Liberty*, Massachusetts Navy.
O'Brian, John, Colonel McCobb's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Brian, John, Schooner *Diligent*, Massachusetts Navy.
O'Brian, John, Captain Farley's Massachusetts Company.
O'Brian, Joseph, Sixth Regiment, Lincoln County, Me. troops.
O'Brian, Joseph, Colonel Holman's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Brian, Joseph, Colonel Jackson's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Brian, John, Lieutenant Andrew Gilman's Massachusetts Company.
O'Brian, John, Brigantine *Tyrannicide*, Massachusetts Navy.
O'Brian, John, Major Thomas' Massachusetts Artillery Company.
O'Brian, John, Essex County, Massachusetts, troops.
O'Brian, John, Suffolk County, Massachusetts troops.
O'Brian, John, First Regiment, New York Line.
O'Brian, John, Second Regiment, New York Line.
O'Brian, John, Vermont troops, (regiment unknown).
O'Brian, John, Sixth Regiment, Connecticut Line.
O'Brian, John, First Regiment, New Hampshire Line.
O'Brian, Lewis, Third Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
O'Brian, Ludovick, Third Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.

- O'Brian, Martin, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
O'Brian, Martin, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Brian, Martin, Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Brian, Matthew, First Regiment, Suffolk County, Massachusetts.
O'Brian, Matthew, Crane's Massachusetts Artillery.
O'Brian, Matthew, Captain Micah Hamblin's Massachusetts Company.
O'Brian, Matthew, Colonel Freeman's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Brian, Michael, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
O'Brian, Michael, Captain William Brown's Battery of Maryland Artillery.
O'Brian, Morgan, First Regiment, Westchester County, N. Y. Militia.
O'Brian, Murty, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
O'Brian, Patrick, Colonel Sparhawk's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Brian, Patrick, Ship *Columbus*, Continental Navy.
O'Brian, Paul, Sixth Regiment, Dutchess County, N. Y. Militia.
O'Brian, Philip, Captain William Brown's Battery of Maryland Artillery.
O'Brian, Richard, Colonel Heath's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Brian, Sylvester, Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Brian, Thomas, Colonel Wynkoop's Regiment, New York Militia.
O'Brian, Thomas, Third Massachusetts Artillery.
O'Brian, Thomas, Sixth Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Brian, Thomas, Fifth Company, First Regiment, New York Line.
O'Brian, Thomas, Sixth Company, First Regiment, New York Line.
O'Brian, Thomas, Weymouth, Massachusetts Company.
O'Brian, Thomas, Eighth Regiment, Connecticut Line.
O'Brian, William, Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Brian, William, Sixth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Brian, William, Schooner *Hibernia*, Massachusetts Navy.
O'Brian, William, Worcester County, Massachusetts troops.
O'Brian, William, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia, Fourth Battalion.
O'Brien, Andrew, Commander-in-Chief's Guard.
O'Brien, Daniel, Second Pennsylvania Battalion.
O'Brien, Daniel, Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Brien, Dennis, Fifth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Brien, Dennis, Hazen's Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Brien, Francis, Eleventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Brien, Francis, Invalid Regiment, Pennsylvania.
O'Brien, Hugh, Colonel McIntosh's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Brien, James, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.
O'Brien, James, Harford County, Maryland troops.
O'Brien, James, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
O'Brien, "Jerry" Colonel Marshall's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Brien, Jeremiah, Massachusetts Rangers.
O'Brien, John, Second Regiment, Orange County, N. Y. Militia.
O'Brien, John, Third Regiment, Ulster County, N. Y. Militia.
O'Brien, John, Colonel Wynkoop's Regiment, New York Militia.
O'Brien, John, Pennsylvania Navy.

- O'Brien, John, First Regiment, Maryland Line.
O'Brien, John, Sixth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Brien, John, Colonel Livingston's Battalion, New York Line.
O'Brien, John, Colonel Cilley's New Hampshire Regiment.
O'Brien, John, First Partisan Legion, Pennsylvania.
O'Brien, John, Jr., Colonel Wynkoop's Regiment, New York Militia.
O'Brien, John Morris, Colonel Greene's Rhode Island Regiment.
O'Brien, Joseph, Colonel Jackson's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Brien, Joseph, Continental frigate *Boston*.
O'Brien, Michael, New York troops (regiment unknown).
O'Brien, Patrick, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
O'Brien, Patrick, Ship *Alfred*, Continental Navy.
O'Brien, Peter, Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion.
O'Brien, William, Continental frigate *Boston*.
O'Brien, William, Sixth Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Brien, William, Tenth Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Brien, William, Colonel Miller's Rhode Island Regiment.
O'Bryan, Andrew, Provost Guard, Pennsylvania.
O'Bryan, Charles, Colonel Wentworth's New Hampshire Regiment.
O'Bryan, Daniel, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Bryan, Daniel, Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Bryan, Daniel, Capt. Titus Salter's Company, New Hampshire Artillery.
O'Bryan, Daniel, Colonel Wingate's New Hampshire Regiment.
O'Bryan, Darby, North Carolina Line (regiment unknown).
O'Bryan, Dennis, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Bryan, Dennis, Hazen's Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Bryan, Dennis, Fourth Maryland Battalion.
O'Bryan, Dennis, York County, Penna. Militia.
O'Bryan, Dennis, Massachusetts troops (regiment unknown).
O'Bryan, Dennis, Tenth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
O'Brien, Duncan, Georgia Continental Line (regiment unknown).
O'Brien, Francis, Eleventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Bryan, George, Major Eben Stevens' Battery of Mass. Artillery.
O'Bryan, Gregory, Third Massachusetts Artillery.
O'Bryan, Gregory, Colonel Webb's Connecticut Regiment.
O'Bryan, James, Georgia Continental Line (regiment unknown).
O'Bryan, James, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
O'Bryan, James, German Regiment, Maryland Line.
O'Bryan, James, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
O'Bryan, James, Morgan's Rifle Corps.
O'Bryan, John, First Regiment, New York Line.
O'Bryan, John, Third Regiment, New Jersey Continental Line.
O'Bryan, John, Second Regiment, New Jersey Continental Line.
O'Bryan, John, First Partisan Legion, Pennsylvania.
O'Bryan, John, First Regiment, Maryland Line.
O'Bryan, John, Second Regiment, Maryland Line.

- O'Bryan, John, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
O'Bryan, John, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
O'Bryan, John, York County, Penna. Militia.
O'Bryan, John, Colonel Patterson's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Bryan, John, Colonel Vose's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Bryan, John, German Regiment, Maryland Line.
O'Bryan, John, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment.
O'Bryan, John, Third Regiment, Westchester County, N. Y. Militia.
O'Bryan, John, 1st. Batt. Second. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
O'Bryan, John, Capt. Willing's Company of Philadelphia Marines.
O'Bryan, John, Tenth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
O'Bryan, Joseph, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
O'Bryan, Joseph, Charles County, Maryland troops.
O'Bryan, Martin, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Bryan, Martin, Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Bryan, Martin, York County, Penna. Militia.
O'Bryan, Martin, Colonel Chambers' Pennsylvania Foot Regiment.
O'Bryan, Matthew, Third Massachusetts Artillery.
O'Bryan, Michael, Maryland Artillery.
O'Bryan, Patrick, 1st. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
O'Bryan, Patrick, Massachusetts troops (regiment unknown).
O'Bryan, Patrick, Rutland, Massachusetts Company,
O'Bryan, Patrick, Colonel Sparhawk's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Bryan, Patrick, Second Regiment, New Jersey Continental Line.
O'Bryan, Paul, First Regiment, New York Line.
O'Bryan, Paul, Invalid Regiment, Pennsylvania.
O'Bryan, Philip, Fourth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Bryan, Philip, Sixth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Bryan, Richard, Pennsylvania Artillery Artificers.
O'Bryan, Richard, Tenth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
O'Bryan, Roger, New Eleventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Bryan, Sylvester, Atlee's Pennsylvania Musketry Battalion.
O'Bryan, Thomas, First Regiment, New York Line.
O'Bryan, Thomas, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
O'Bryan, Thomas, Colonel Vose's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Bryan, Timothy, Pennsylvania Navy.
O'Bryan, Timothy, Fifth Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Bryan, "Tim," Colonel Patterson's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Bryan, "Tide," North Carolina Line (regiment unknown).
O'Bryan, William, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Bryan, William, New Eleventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Bryan, William, Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Bryan, William, Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot.
O'Bryan, William, Philadelphia City Militia, Sixth Battalion.
O'Bryan, William, Warren, Rhode Island, Town Guards.
O'Bryan, John, Colonel Lee's Massachusetts Regiment.

- O'Brion, Daniel, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
O'Brion, Gregory, Capt. Caleb Turner's Massachusetts Company.
O'Brion, James, Philadelphia County, Penna. Militia.
O'Brion, Morgan, Philadelphia City Troop of Light Horse.
O'Brion, Paul, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.
O'Bryon, Edward, Colonel Whitcomb's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Bryon, Thomas M., Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
O'Bryon, William, Tenth Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Brine, Charles, Colonel Marshall's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Brine, Cornelius, First Regiment, New York Line.
O'Brine, Dennis, Ninth Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Brine, Dennis, Colonel Greateon's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Brine, Gregory, Second New York Artillery.
O'Brine, James, Seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Brine, James, Colonel Henley's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Brine, John, Capt. Tisdale's Springfield, Mass. Company.
O'Brine, John, Second Regiment, Plymouth County, Mass.
O'Brine, John, Colonel Vose's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Brine, Richard, First Regiment, Suffolk County, Mass.
O'Brine, Richard, Colonel Wigglesworth's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Brine, William, Colonel Drury's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Brine, William, Sixth Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Bryne, John, Vermont troops (regiment unknown).
O'Brient, William, Colonel Angell's Rhode Island Regiment.
O'Briant, Cornelius, Colonel Willett's Regiment of New York Levies.
O'Briant, Gideon, Colonel Foster's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Briant, Gregory, Sloop *Machias Liberty*, Massachusetts Navy.
O'Briant, James, Colonel Henley's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Briant, James, Colonel Sherburne's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Briant, Jeremiah, Colonel Foster's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Briant, John, Ship *Lion*, Massachusetts Navy.
O'Briant, John, First Regiment, Connecticut Line.
O'Briant, John, Sixth Regiment, Connecticut Line.
O'Briant, John, Third Regiment, New Jersey Continental Line.
O'Briant, John, Colonel Thornton's New Hampshire Regiment.
O'Briant, John, Springfield, Massachusetts Company.
O'Briant, John, Second Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Briant, John, Sloop *Defence*, Maryland Navy.
O'Briant, Joseph, Colonel Foster's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Briant, Joseph, Colonel Jackson's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Briant, William, Continental frigate *Deane*.
O'Briant, William, Sloop *Machias Liberty*, Massachusetts Navy.
O'Bryant, Peter, Brigantine *Defence*, Massachusetts Navy.
O'brient, Dennis, Ninth Massachusetts Regiment.
O'brient, James, Capt. Jabez West's Massachusetts Company.
O'brient, John, Third Regiment, New York Line.

O'brient, Patrick, Colonel Whitney's Massachusetts Regiment.
Obriant, John, Fourth Regiment, Connecticut Line.
Obrian, John, Eighth Regiment, New Hampshire Militia.
Obrien, John, Second Regiment, New York Line.
Obrien, John, Westchester County, New York Militia.
Obrien, Morgan, Colonel Pawling's Regiment of New York Levies.
Obryon, John, Colonel Hazen's Continental Regiment (New Hampshire).
Obryan, James, Sixth Regiment, Dutchess County, N. Y. Militia.
Obryan, John, First Regiment, New Hampshire Line.
Obryan, Thomas, Colonel Vose's Massachusetts Regiment.

O'Nail, Barry, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
O'Nail, Daniel, Philadelphia County, Penna. Militia.
O'Nail, Edward, York County, Penna. Militia.
O'Nail, Felix, Cecil County, Maryland troops.
O'Nail, James, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
O'Nail, John, Seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Nail, Michael, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
O'Nail, William, Hazen's Continental Regiment (New Hampshire).
O'Neal, Bernard, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
O'Neal, Benjamin, Tenth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
O'Neal, Bryan, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neal, Bryan, Westmoreland County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neal, Charles, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neal, Charles, Third Regiment, North Carolina Line.
O'Neal, Christian, Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neal, Christopher, Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neal, Christopher, Pennsylvania Navy.
O'Neal, Conrad, New Jersey Continental Line.
O'Neal, Constantine, Westmoreland County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neal, Constantine, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
O'Neal, Daniel, 3rd Batt. First Establishment, N. J. State Line.
O'Neal, Daniel, 2nd. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
O'Neal, Daniel, Third Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neal, Daniel, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
O'Neal, Daniel, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
O'Neal, Daniel, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
O'Neal, Daniel, Sixth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neal, Dixon, Georgia Continental Brigade.
O'Neal, Douglas, Second South Carolina Regiment of Foot.
O'Neal, Edward, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neal, Edward, Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neal, Edward, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
O'Neal, Felix, Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion.
O'Neal, Felix, Fifth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neal, Felix, Seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.

O'Neal, Ferdinand, Virginia Continental Line.
O'Neal, Farrel, Virginia Continental Line.
O'Neal, Hamilton, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment.
O'Neal, Henry, Monmouth County, New Jersey Militia.
O'Neal, Henry, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neal, Henry, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neal, Henry, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
O'Neal, Henry, Westmoreland County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neal, Henry, Colonel Neill's Delaware Regiment.
O'Neal, Hugh, Colonel Haslet's Delaware Regiment.
O'Neal, Hugh, Pennsylvania Line (regiment unknown).
O'Neal, James, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neal, James, Second Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neal, James, Third Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neal, James, Sixth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neal, James, New Eleventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neal, James, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
O'Neal, James, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neal, James, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neal, James, Benton's South Carolina Regiment.
O'Neal, James, Second Regiment, South Carolina Line.
O'Neal, James, Seventh Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
O'Neal, James, Frigate *Boston*, Massachusetts Navy.
O'Neal, James, Colonel Hunter's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Neal, James, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment.
O'Neal, James, Colonel Van Schaick's Regiment, New York Line.
O'Neal, James, Tenth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
O'Neal, John, First Regiment, Maryland Line.
O'Neal, John, First Regiment, Maryland Line.
O'Neal, John, Third Regiment, New York Line.
O'Neal, John, Virginia Continental Line.
O'Neal, John, Colonel Elmore's Connecticut Line.
O'Neal, John, Capt. Ransom's Company, Wyoming Valley, Penna. troops.
O'Neal, John, Tenth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
O'Neal, John, Invalid Regiment (Rhode Island).
O'Neal, John, Seventh Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Neal, John, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neal, John, Fourth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neal, John, Seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neal, John, Ninth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neal, John, Monmouth County, New Jersey, Militia.
O'Neal, John, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neal, John, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
O'Neal, John, Philadelphia County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neal, John, York County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neal, John, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.

- O'Neal, John, Thirteenth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neal, John, Harford County, Maryland troops.
O'Neal, John, Georgia Continental Line (regiment unknown).
O'Neal, John, 1st. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
O'Neal, John, First Regiment, New Jersey Continental Line.
O'Neal, John, Third Regiment, South Carolina Line.
O'Neal, John, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
O'Neal, Michael, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neal, Nehemiah, Colonel Haslet's Delaware Regiment.
O'Neal, N., Georgia Continental Line (regiment unknown).
O'Neal, Nicholas, Third Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neal, Nicholas, New Eleventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neal, Patrick, Seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neal, Patrick, Seventh Regiment, Maryland Line.
O'Neal, Peter, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neal, Peter, Colonel Livingston's Battalion, New York Line.
O'Neal, Richard, Fourth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neal, Richard, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neal, Richard, First Pennsylvania Battalion.
O'Neal, Richard, Atlee's Pennsylvania Musketry Battalion.
O'Neal, Samuel, Colonel Cilley's New Hampshire Regiment.
O'Neal, Seymour, Second South Carolina Regiment of Foot.
O'Neal, Thomas, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
O'Neal, Timothy, Seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neal, Timothy, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neal, Timothy, Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion.
O'Neal, William, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neal, William, Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion.
O'Neal, William, Virginia Continental Line.
O'Neal, William, Tenth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
O'Neale, Charles, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
O'Neale, George, Philadelphia County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neale, John, Charles County, Maryland troops.
O'Neale, John, Charles County, Maryland troops.
O'Neale, Richard, Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot.
O'Neale, William, Colonel Neill's Delaware Regiment.
O'Neil, James, West Virginia troops.
O'Nele, John, First Regiment, New York Line.
O'Neil, Arthur, Sussex County, New Jersey, Militia.
O'Neil, Arthur, 4th. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
O'Neil, Barney, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
O'Neil, Charles, First Regiment, New York Line.
O'Neil, Charles, Fourth Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
O'Neil, Charles, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neil, Darden, Fourth Maryland Battalion.
O'Neil, Henry, 4th. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.

O'Neil, Henry, Ninth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neil, Henry, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neil, Henry, Northumberland County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neil, Henry, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neil, Hugh, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
O'Neil, James, First Regiment, New York Line.
O'Neil, James, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment.
O'Neil, James, Colonel Neill's Delaware Regiment.
O'Neil, James, Colonel Malcom's Regiment of New York Levies.
O'Neil, John, Second Regiment, New York Line.
O'Neil, John, Second Regiment, New Jersey Continental Line.
O'Neil, John, Seventh Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
O'Neil, John, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neil, John, Third Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neil, John, Seventh Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Neil, John, Fifth Regiment, New York Line.
O'Neil, John, Capt. Simon Spaulding's Co., Wyoming Valley, Penna. troops.
O'Neil, John, Colonel Moore's New Hampshire Regiment.
O'Neil, Michael, Colonel Malcom's Regiment, New York Line.
O'Neil, Neal, 1st. Batt. 1st Establishment, N. J. State Line.
O'Neil, Neil, 4th. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
O'Neil, Neal, Colonel Wheelock's Massachusetts Regiment.
O'Neil, Peter, Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion.
O'Neil, Richard, Northumberland County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neil, Thomas, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.
O'Neil, Thomas, Brigantine *Tyrannicide*, Massachusetts Navy.
O'Neil, —, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment.
O'Neill, Arthur, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neill, Archibald, North Carolina Line (regiment unknown).
O'Neill, Bryan, Pennsylvania Militia (regiment unknown).
O'Neill, Charles, Pennsylvania Navy.
O'Neill, Charles, Miles' Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment.
O'Neill, Christopher, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
O'Neill, Christopher, Pennsylvania Line (regiment unknown).
O'Neill, Constantine, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neill, Ferdinand, Capt. Lee's Battalion, South Carolina Light Dragoons.
O'Neill, Henry, Second Pennsylvania Battalion.
O'Neill, Henry, Pennsylvania Line (regiment unknown).
O'Neill, James, Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion.
O'Neill, James, Fifth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neill, James, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
O'Neill, John, Tenth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neill, John, Seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neill, John, Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion.
O'Neill, John, Maryland Select Militia.
O'Neill, John, Colonel Stark's New Hampshire Regiment.

O'Neill, Michael, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
O'Neill, Peter, Pennsylvania Line (regiment unknown).
O'Neill, Timothy, Seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
O'Neile, John, Pennsylvania Line (regiment unknown).
Kneal, Patrick, Georgia Continental Line (regiment unknown).
Nail, Charles, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
Nail, John, New York Artillery Artificers.
Naile, John, Eighth Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
Neill, Robert, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Neill, Thomas, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
McNail, Robert, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
McNeal, Andrew, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
McNeal, Charles, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.
McNeal, Charles, Second Regiment, New York Line.
McNeal, Daniel, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
McNeal, Daniel, Sixth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
McNeal, Daniel, Eighth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
McNeal, Daniel, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
McNeal, Dominick, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
McNeal, Henry, Third Regiment, New York Line.
McNeal, Henry, Dutchess County, New York Militia.
McNeal, James, Pennsylvania Navy.
McNeal, James, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
McNeal, James, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
McNeal, John, Hazen's Continental Regiment (Pennsylvania).
McNeal, John, Third Regiment, New York Line.
McNeal, John, Fifth Regiment, New York Line.
McNeal, John, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
McNeal, John, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
McNeal, John, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
McNeal, John, First Regiment, New York Line.
McNeal, John, Second Regiment, New York Line.
McNeal, John, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
McNeal, Loughlin, Pennsylvania Navy.
McNeal, Laughlin, Miles' Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment.
McNeal, Patrick, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
McNeal, Patrick, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
McNeil, Paul, Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion.
McNeil, Robert, Proctor's Pennsylvania Artillery.
McNeal, Robert, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
McNeal, Thomas, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
McNeal, Thomas, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.
McNeal, William, Miles' Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment.
McNeal, William, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
McNeal, William, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
McNeill, Charles, Fourth Regiment, New York Line.

McNeill, Charles, Continental frigate *Boston*.
McNeill, Daniel, Capt. Peter Clark's New Hampshire Company.
McNeill, Daniel, Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot.
McNeill, Daniel, Georgia Continental Line (regiment unknown).
McNeill, Hector, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
McNeill, Henry, Dutchess County, New York Militia.
McNeill, Hector, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
McNeill, Hector, Continental frigate *Boston*.
McNeill, James, Bucks County, Penna. Militia.
McNeill, James, Fifth Pennsylvania Battalion.
McNeill, John, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
McNeill, John, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
McNeill, John, Sixth Regiment, Dutchess County, N. Y. Militia.
McNeill, John, Charlotte County, New York Militia.
McNeill, John, Third Regiment, New York Line.
McNeill, Michael, Georgia Continental Line (regiment unknown).
McNeill, Robert, Continental frigate *Boston*.
McNeill, Thomas, First Regiment, New Hampshire Line.
McNeill, Victor, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
McNeill, William, Bucks County, Penna. Militia.
McNeill, William, Twelfth Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.

Reilly, Charles, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Reilly, Con., German Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Reilly, Christopher, Tenth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Reilly, Christopher, Moore's Corps of Pennsylvania Infantry.
Reilly, James, Fifth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Reilly, James, Pennsylvania Navy.
Reilly, James, Pennsylvania Navy.
Reilly, James, Miles' Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment.
Reilly, James, Moore's Corps of Pennsylvania Infantry.
Reilly, James, Seventh Massachusetts Regiment.
Reilly, James, West Virginia troops (regiment unknown).
Reilly, James, New York troops (regiment unknown).
Reilly, James, Colonel Brooks' Massachusetts Regiment.
Reilly, John, Eleventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Reilly, John, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
Reilly, John, Colonel Turner's Massachusetts Regiment.
Reilly, John, Continental frigate *Hague*.
Reilly, John, Colonel Burrall's Connecticut Regiment.
Reilly, John, Capt. Willing's Company of Philadelphia Marines.
Reilly, John, First Regiment, Virginia Line.
Reilly, Joseph, Fifth Pennsylvania Battalion.
Reilly, Martin, Colonel Mitchell's Massachusetts Regiment.
Reilly, Michael, Ninth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Reilly, Patrick, Lamb's New York Artillery.

Reilly, Patrick, 2nd., Fourth Maryland Battalion.
Reilly, Patrick, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
Reilly, Patrick, First Regiment, Maryland Line.
Reilly, Philip, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment.
Reilly, Richard, First Regiment, Provincial Troops of S. C.
Reilly, Robert, Capt. Fullwood's S. C. Volunteer Militia.
Reilly, Robert, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Reilly, Thomas, Sixth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Reilly, Thomas, Seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Reilly, Thomas, Henley's Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Reilly, Thomas, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Reilly, Thomas, Thompson's Penna. Rifle Battalion.
Reilly, Thomas, Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion.
Reilly, Thomas, Fifth Pennsylvania Battalion.
Reiley, Charles, Seventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Reiley, Charles, Fourth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Reiley, Charles, New Castle County, Delaware Militia.
Reiley, Christopher, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Reiley, Barney, York County, Penna. Militia.
Reiley, Bernard, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Reiley, David, Sixth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Reiley, Edward, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Reiley, Edward, Fourth Maryland Battalion.
Reiley, Francis, York County, Penna. Militia.
Reiley, Francis, Frigate *Boston*, Massachusetts Navy.
Reiley, George, South Carolina Line (regiment unknown).
Reiley, George, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Reiley, James, Third Massachusetts Artillery.
Reiley, James, Bristol County, Massachusetts troops.
Reiley, James, Colonel Shepard's Massachusetts Regiment.
Reiley, Job, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Reiley, John, First Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Reiley, John, Third Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Reiley, John, Colonel Smith's Massachusetts Regiment.
Reiley, John, Colonel Wigglesworth's Massachusetts Regiment.
Reiley, Martin, Sixth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Reiley, Martin, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
Reiley, Matthew, New Castle County, Delaware Militia.
Reiley, Patrick, Pennsylvania Artillery.
Reiley, Patrick, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Reiley, Patrick, Seventh Regiment, Maryland Line.
Reiley, Patrick, First Maryland Battalion.
Reiley, Peter, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
Reiley, Philip, Pennsylvania Navy.
Reiley, Richard, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
Reiley, Richard, Chester County, Penna. Militia.

Reiley, Thomas, South Carolina Line (regiment unknown).
Reiley, Thomas, Third Massachusetts Regiment.
Reiley, William, Third Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Reiley, William, Commander-in-Chief's Guard.
Reily, Barney, Seventh Regiment, Maryland Line.
Reily, Bernard, German Regiment, Maryland Line.
Reily, Charles, Third Regiment, New York Line.
Reily, Edward, Pennsylvania Artillery Artificers.
Reily, Edward, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
Reily, Edward, Pennsylvania Navy.
Reily, George, Frigate *Boston*, Massachusetts Navy.
Reily, Henry, Colonel Brooks' Massachusetts Regiment.
Reily, Hugh, Colonel Bridge's Massachusetts Regiment.
Reily, James, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
Reily, James, Rawlings' Regiment, Maryland Line.
Reily, John, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Reily, John, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia (1st. Batt.).
Reily, John, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia (4th. Batt.).
Reily, John, Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot.
Reily, John, Eleventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Reily, John, Pennsylvania Navy.
Reily, John, Rowley, Massachusetts Company.
Reily, John, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
Reily, John, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Reily, John, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Reily, John, Rawlings' Regiment, Maryland Line.
Reily, John, Third Regiment, New York Line.
Reily, Joseph, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Reily, Miles, Sixth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Reily, Patrick, Proctor's Pennsylvania Artillery.
Reily, Patrick, Craig's Detachment of Pennsylvania Artillery.
Reily, Patrick, Pennsylvania Artillery Artificers.
Reily, Patrick, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Reily, Patrick, Sixth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Reily, Philip, West Virginia troops.
Reily, Terence, Second Infantry Company of Westerly, R. I.
Reily, Thomas, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Reily, Thomas, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Reily, Thomas, Pennsylvania Navy.
Reily, Thomas, First Regiment, New York Line.
Reily, Thomas, Colonel Thayer's Massachusetts Regiment.
Reily, William, First Regiment, Maryland Line.
Reily, William, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Reily, William, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment.
Reily, William, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
Reily, Bernard, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).

- Riely, Barnabas, Pennsylvania Line (regiment unknown).
 Riely, Charles, First Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Riely, Edward, Pennsylvania Navy.
 Riely, James, Richmond, Massachusetts Company.
 Riely, John, First Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Riely, John, Pennsylvania Navy.
 Riely, Jonathan, Second Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Riely, Patrick, First Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Riely, Thomas, Colonel Jackson's Massachusetts Regiment.
 Riely, Thomas, Colonel Henley's Massachusetts Regiment.
 Riely, William, Sixth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
 Riely, William, Fourth Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Rieley, John, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
 Riley, A., Wethersfield, Connecticut Volunteers.
 Riley, A., Brig *Ranger*, Connecticut Navy.
 Riley, Charles, Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion.
 Riley, Charles, Seventh Regiment, Connecticut Line.
 Riley, Charles, Twenty-second Regiment, Connecticut Line.
 Riley, Daniel, New Jersey State troops.
 Riley, Daniel, Virginia Continental Line.
 Riley, Dennis, Pennsylvania Artillery Artificers.
 Riley, David, Colonel Canfield's Connecticut Militia Regiment.
 Riley, Edward, Proctor's Pennsylvania Artillery.
 Riley, Edward, Fourth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
 Riley, Edward, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Riley, Francis, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
 Riley, Hugh, Colonel Bridge's Massachusetts Regiment.
 Riley, Jonathan, Eighth Regiment, Connecticut Line.
 Riley, James, Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot.
 Riley, James, First Regiment, New York Line.
 Riley, James, Second Regiment, New York Line.
 Riley, James, Colonel Harper's Regiment of New York Levies.
 Riley, James, First Regiment, New Jersey Continental Line.
 Riley, James, 3rd. Batt. 1st. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
 Riley, James, 3rd. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
 Riley, James, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Riley, James, Fifth Regiment, Middlesex County, Mass.
 Riley, James, Third Massachusetts Artillery.
 Riley, James, Seventh Massachusetts Artillery.
 Riley, James, Brigantine *Tyrannicide*, Massachusetts Navy.
 Riley, James, Colonel Jackson's Massachusetts Regiment.
 Riley, James, 1st. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
 Riley, Jacob, 1st. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
 Riley, Jacob, Gloucester County, New Jersey Militia.
 Riley, John, Colonel Webb's Connecticut Regiment.
 Riley, John, Sloop *Hero*, Connecticut Navy.

Riley, John, Philadelphia City Artillery.
Riley, John, Colonel Elliott's Rhode Island Artillery.
Riley, John, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
Riley, John, York County, Penna. Militia.
Riley, John, Third Regiment, Pennsylvania Line.
Riley, John, Kent County, Maryland troops.
Riley, John, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Riley, John, Sixth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Riley, John, Seventh Regiment, Maryland Line.
Riley, John, Lee's Legion, New Jersey Continental Line.
Riley, John, First Regiment, Provincial Troops of S. C.
Riley, John, Capt. Thomas Beall's Corps of Maryland troops.
Riley, John, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Riley, John, Third Regiment, New York Line.
Riley, John, Third Regiment, New York Line.
Riley, John, Colonel Brewer's Massachusetts Regiment.
Riley, John, Colonel Smith's Massachusetts Regiment.
Riley, John, First Regiment, Virginia Line.
Riley, John, Virginia Line (regiment unknown).
Riley, Jones, Ship *Protector*, Massachusetts Navy.
Riley, Job, Miles' Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment.
Riley, Joseph, Cumberland County, New Jersey Militia.
Riley, Joseph, New Jersey, Continental Line.
Riley, Joseph, Continental frigate *Deane*.
Riley, Lawrence, Ann Arundel County, Maryland troops.
Riley, Michael, Ship *Defence*, Maryland Navy.
Riley, Michael, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
Riley, Michael, Colonel Daggett's Massachusetts Regiment.
Riley, Michael, Attleborough, Massachusetts Company.
Riley, Michael, Captain Elisha May's Massachusetts Company.
Riley, Moses, Eighth Regiment, Connecticut Line.
Riley, Nathaniel, Ship *Oliver Cromwell*, Connecticut Navy.
Riley, Patrick, Frederick, Maryland troops.
Riley, Patrick, Montgomery County, Maryland Militia.
Riley, Patrick, Gloucester County, New Jersey Militia.
Riley, Patrick, Captain James Lee's Company, Knox's Artillery.
Riley, Patrick, Fourth Maryland Battalion.
Riley, Patrick, Captain Newman's Boston, Mass. Company.
Riley, Patrick, First Regiment, Maryland Line.
Riley, Patrick, Third Regiment, New York Line.
Riley, Peter, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Riley, Peter, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
Riley, Peter, New Eleventh Regiment, Penna. Line.
Riley, Peter, First Regiment, Tryon County, N. Y. Militia.
Riley, Philip, Colonel Harper's New York Levies.
Riley, Richard, Chester County, Penna. Militia.

- Riley, Robert, York County, Penna. Militia.
 Riley, Robert, Captain Ferguson's Volunteer Company, Penna. troops.
 Riley, Roger, New Jersey Militia.
 Riley, Simeon, Colonel Cheever's Massachusetts Regiment.
 Riley, Sylvester, Second Regiment, New York Line.
 Riley, Thomas, Seventh Regiment, Penna. Line.
 Riley, Thomas, Third Massachusetts Artillery.
 Riley, Thomas, Sixth Massachusetts Regiment.
 Riley, Thomas, Sixteenth Massachusetts Regiment.
 Riley, Timothy, Ship *Defence*, Maryland Navy.
 Riley, Walter, Seventh Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Riley, William, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
 Riley, William, Georgia Continental Brigade.
 Riley, William, Tenth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
 Reyley, Daniel, Second Pennsylvania Battalion.
 Reyley, Henry, Colonel Brooks' Massachusetts Regiment.
 Reyley, Henry, Wolcott's Connecticut Brigade.
 Reyley, Henry, Capt. Wm. McMullins' Phila. City Guards.
 Reyley, James, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
 Reyley, James, New York troops (regiment unknown).
 Reyley, James, Colonel Craft's Massachusetts Artillery.
 Reyley, James, Colonel Fellows' Massachusetts Brigade.
 Reyley, James, Fifth Massachusetts Regiment.
 Reyley, James, Second Massachusetts Regiment.
 Reyley, James, Bucks County, Penna. Militia.
 Reyley, John, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
 Reyley, John, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
 Reyley, John, Third Massachusetts Artillery.
 Reyley, John, New Castle County, Delaware Militia.
 Reyley, John, Second Regiment, Connecticut Line.
 Reyley, Julius, Sheldon's Connecticut Light Horse.
 Reyley, Michael, Fourteenth Massachusetts Artillery.
 Reyley, Philip, Boston, Massachusetts Company.
 Reyley, Philip, Philadelphia City Militia.
 Reyley, Sylvester, Fifth Regiment, New York Line.
 Reylie, John, Virginia Line (regiment unknown).
 Reylie, Matthew, Colonel Haslet's Delaware Regiment.
 Rily, Luke, Delaware Militia.
 Rioley, John, Essex County, Massachusetts troops.
 Ribley, Jacob, First Regiment, Ulster County, N. Y. Militia.
 Righley, Joseph, Second Regiment, New York Line.
 Reiloy, Patrick, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
 Railey, Hugh, Sixth Regiment, Maryland Line.
 Realley, Dennis, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
 Reyle, Denis, Fourth Regiment, Orange County, N. Y. Militia.
 Reyligh, James, Fourth Massachusetts Regiment.

Royley, James, Second Massachusetts Regiment.
Rylee, Philip, Colonel Warner's Connecticut Regiment.
Ryley, George, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Ryley, John, Bucks County, Penna. Militia.
Ryley, John, York County, Penna. Militia.
Ryley, Joseph, Georgia Continental Brigade.
Ryley, Michael, Ninth Regiment, Penna. Line.
Ryley, Patrick, Third Regiment, New York Line.
Ryley, Philip, Fifth Regiment, Dutchess County, N. Y. Militia.
Ryley, Sylvester, Fourth Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
Ryley, Pat., Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
Ryley, Phillip, Philadelphia City Militia.
Ryley, Philip, Jr., Philadelphia City Militia.
Ryley, Philip, 1st. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, N. J. State Line.
Ryley, Thomas, Third Massachusetts Artillery.
Ryley, William, Northumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Rylie, John, Colonel Malcom's Regiment, New York Line.
Rylie, Francis, Brigantine *Hazard*, Massachusetts Navy.
Rylie, James, Third Massachusetts Regiment.
Rylie, Jacob, Second Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
Rylie, Nicholas, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
Rylie, Philip, Second Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
Reyly, John, Berks County, Penna. Militia.
Reyly, Miles, Captain Mills' S. C. Volunteer Militia.
Ryly, Joseph, Colonel Simonds' Massachusetts Regiment.

Ryan, Andrew, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Ryan, Andrew, Second Regiment, Penna. Line.
Ryan, Andrew, Atlee's Penna. Musketry Battalion.
Ryan, Andrew, Fifth Penna. Battalion.
Ryan, Andrew, Northumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Ryan, Anthony, First Regiment, Maryland Line.
Ryan, Alexander, Continental frigate *Deane*.
Ryan, Albert, New York troops (regiment unknown).
Ryan, Augustus, Colonel Foster's Massachusetts Regiment.
Ryan, Augustine, Falmouth, Massachusetts Company.
Ryan, Barney, Fifth Massachusetts Regiment.
Ryan, Bryan, Fifth Massachusetts Regiment.
Ryan, Benjamin, Colonel Wyman's New Hampshire Regiment.
Ryan, Cornelius, Fourth Massachusetts Regiment.
Ryan, Cornelius, Tenth Regiment, North Carolina Line (Doherty's Co.).
Ryan, Cornelius, Tenth Regiment, North Carolina Line (Hadley's Co.).
Ryan, Christopher, Thirteenth Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
Ryan, Christian, Miles' Penna. Rifle Regiment.
Ryan, Daniel, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Ryan, Daniel, Sixth Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.

Ryan, Daniel, Georgia Continental Line (regiment unknown).
Ryan, Daniel, Colonel Haslet's Delaware Regiment.
Ryan, Daniel, First Regiment, New York Line.
Ryan, Dennis, First Regiment, New York Line.
Ryan, Dennis, Georgia Continental Line (regiment unknown).
Ryan, Dennis, Colonel Brewer's Massachusetts Regiment.
Ryan, Dennis, Colonel Hazen's Massachusetts Regiment.
Ryan, Derry, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
Ryan, Duncan, Colonel Willett's New York Regiment.
Ryan, Darby, Leicester County, Massachusetts troops.
Ryan, Edward, Sixth Regiment, Orange County, N. Y. Militia.
Ryan, Edward, Northumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Ryan, Edward, Brig *Freedom*, Massachusetts Navy.
Ryan, Edward, Colonel Thomas Poor's N. H. Regiment.
Ryan, Francis, First Regiment, Cumberland County, Maine.
Ryan, George, Prince George County, Maryland troops.
Ryan, George, Virginia Continental Line (regiment unknown).
Ryan, George, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Ryan, Gilbert, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Ryan, Francis, Colonel Eben Francis' Mass. Regiment.
Ryan, Francis, East Sudbury, Mass. Company.
Ryan, Francis, Dorchester, Mass. Company.
Ryan, Hercules, Fourth Regiment, North Carolina Line.
Ryan, Hugh, Frederick County, Maryland troops.
Ryan, Hugh, Sixth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Ryan, Isaac, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Ryan, Jacob, Maryland Line (regiment unknown).
Ryan, James, Colonel Wentworth's New Hampshire Regiment.
Ryan, James, Nineteenth Massachusetts Regiment.
Ryan, James, Twenty-eighth Massachusetts Regiment.
Ryan, James, Colonel Daniel Morgan's Rifle Corps.
Ryan, James, Third Massachusetts Artillery.
Ryan, James, Parr's Company of New Hampshire Riflemen.
Ryan, James, Colonel Wyman's New Hampshire Regiment.
Ryan, James, Colonel Long's New Hampshire Regiment.
Ryan, James, Georgia Continental Line (regiment unknown).
Ryan, James, Colonel Hazen's Additional Corps of the N. Y. Line.
Ryan, James, Colonel Rawlings' Regiment, Maryland Line.
Ryan, James, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
Ryan, James, Fifth Regiment, Maryland Line.
Ryan, James, Bucks County, Penna. Militia.
Ryan, James, Bedford County, Penna. Militia.
Ryan, James, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Ryan, James, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Ryan, James, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Ryan, James, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.

Ryan, James, Pennsylvania Navy.
Ryan, James, First Penna. Battalion.
Ryan, James, First Regiment, Penna. Line.
Ryan, James, Sr., Second Regiment, Penna. Line.
Ryan, James, Jr., Second Regiment, Penna. Line.
Ryan, James, Eleventh Regiment, Penna. Line.
Ryan, "Jerry," Colonel Patterson's Massachusetts Regiment.
Ryan, Jeremiah, Colonel Waterbury's Connecticut Militia.
Ryan, Jeremiah, Colonel Elmore's Connecticut Regiment.
Ryan, John, First Regiment, New York Line.
Ryan, John, Second Regiment, New York Line.
Ryan, John, Fourth Regiment, Tryon County, N. Y. Militia.
Ryan, John, Fourteenth Regiment, Albany County, N. Y. Militia.
Ryan, John, Colonel Pawling's Regiment of New York Levies.
Ryan, John, Sixth Penna. Battalion.
Ryan, John, First Regiment, Penna. Line.
Ryan, John, Eleventh Regiment, Penna. Line.
Ryan, John, Seventh Regiment, Penna. Line.
Ryan, John, Seventh Regiment, Penna. Line.
Ryan, John, Second Regiment, Maryland Line.
Ryan, John, Third Regiment, Maryland Line.
Ryan, John, Colonel Daniel Morgan's Rifle Corps.
Ryan, John, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Ryan, John, Chester County, Penna. Militia.
Ryan, John, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Ryan, John, Northumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Ryan, John, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Ryan, John, Westmoreland County, Penna. Militia.
Ryan, John, Cumberland County, Penna. Militia.
Ryan, John, Philadelphia City Militia, Fourth Battalion.
Ryan, John, Philadelphia City Militia, Sixth Battalion.
Ryan, John, Philadelphia County Militia.
Ryan, John, Philadelphia County Militia.
Ryan, John, Pennsylvania Navy.
Ryan, John, First Regiment, Maryland Line.
Ryan, John, First Maryland Battalion.
Ryan, John, Prince George County, Maryland troops.
Ryan, John, Baltimore County, Maryland troops.
Ryan, John, First Regiment, Provincial Troops of South Carolina.
Ryan, John, Hunterdon County, New Jersey Militia.
Ryan, John, Hazen's Regiment, Continental Line (N. J.).
Ryan, John, Hazen's Regiment, Continental Line (N. H.).
Ryan, John, Stevens' New York Artillery.
Ryan, John, Luzerne County, Penna. Volunteers.
Ryan, John, 4th. Batt. 2nd. Establishment, New Jersey Line.
Ryan, John, Thompson's Battalion of Penna. Riflemen.

- Ryan, John, Robinson's Pennsylvania Rangers.
Ryan, John, Colonel Mitchell's Massachusetts Regiment.
Ryan, John, Colonel Bailey's Massachusetts Regiment.
Ryan, John, Colonel Francis' Massachusetts Regiment.
Ryan, John, Colonel Turner's Massachusetts Regiment.
Ryan, John, Colonel Wesson's Massachusetts Regiment.
Ryan, John, Colonel Greaton's Massachusetts Regiment.
Ryan, John, Malden, Massachusetts Company.
Ryan, John, Fifth Massachusetts Regiment.
Ryan, John, Tenth Massachusetts Regiment.
Ryan, John, Fourth Regiment of Suffolk County, Mass.
Ryan, John, Waltham, Massachusetts Company.
Ryan, John, Colonel Hall's Delaware Regiment.
Ryan, John, Randolph County, Virginia Militia.
Ryan, John, First Regiment, Connecticut Line.
Ryan, John, Fifth Regiment, Connecticut Line.
Ryan, John, Colonel Malcom's Regiment, New York Line.
Ryan, John, Continental frigate *Confederacy*.
Ryan, John, Colonel Bradford's Battalion, Philadelphia Foot.
Ryan, John, Colonel Stark's New Hampshire Regiment.
Ryan, John, Colonel Bedell's New Hampshire Regiment.
Ryan, John, Captain Simeon Thayer's Providence, R. I. Company.
Ryan, Joseph, Washington County, Penna. Militia (2nd. Batt.).
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Ryan, Michael, Lancaster County, Penna. Militia.
Ryan, Michael, Washington County, Penna. Militia.
Ryan, Michael, Westmoreland County, Penna. Militia.
Ryan, Michael, Philadelphia City, Penna. Militia.
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Ryan, Samuel, Capt. Loring Lincoln's Mass. Company.
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